[For additional information on the arrba, thakhammasth (pl. thikhammasin) or rba (pl. ruba), a major or primary section of the tribe, which has been variously described in the literature as maximal lineages, districts, khoms ("fourths" or "fifths" of the tribe), cantons (by Coon), groups of bones, fractions, or clan "fifths" (Blanco Izaga), see Categories 619, 614, and 634.]

[For additional information on the fariqath, a "sub-fraction" or canton composed of a single hill-valley or watershed unit, comprising 4 or 5 villages, the membership of which are related through a traditional rather than an actual ancestor, see also Categories 634 and 614.]

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MX3 Rif MX3

131
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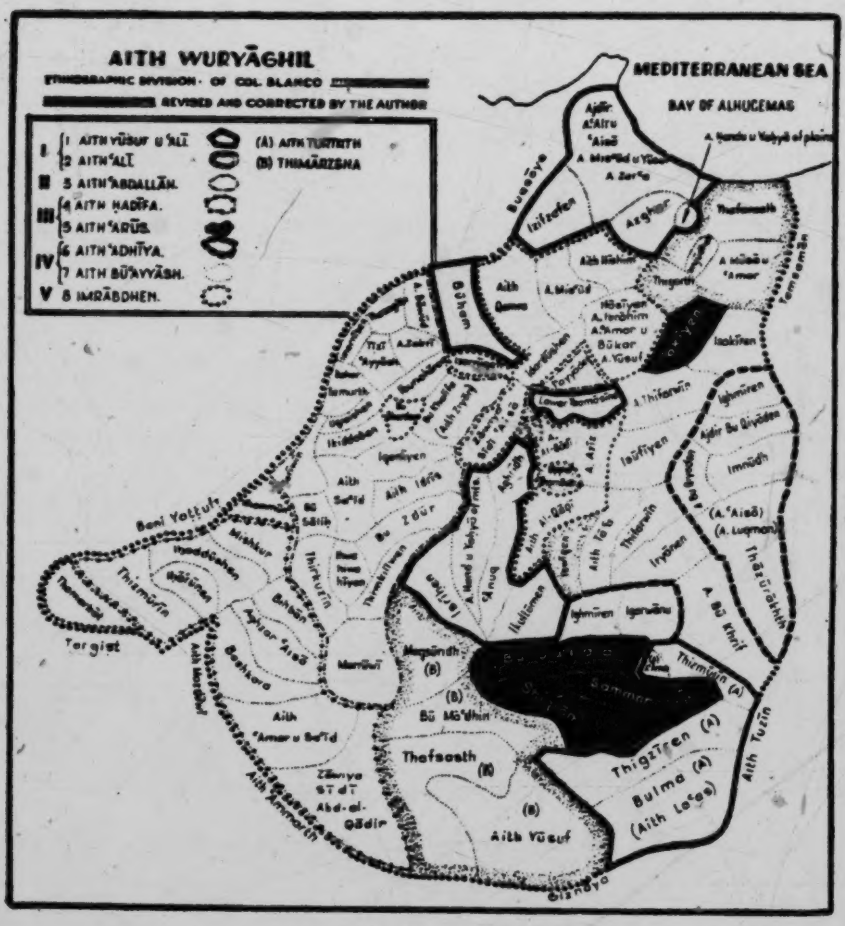
AITH WURYĀGHIL
ETHNOGRAPHIC DIVISION OF COL. BLANCO
REVISED AND CORRECTED BY THE AUTHOR
I 1 AITH YŪSUF U 'ALĪ
2 AITH 'ALĪ
II 3 AITH 'ABDALLĀH.
III 4 AITH ḤADĪFA.
5 AITH 'ARŪS.
IV 6 AITH 'ADHĪYA.
7 AITH BŪ'AYYĀSH.
V 8 IMRĀBDHEN.
(A) AITH TURTHETH
(B) THIMĀRIZEMA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
BAY OF ALHUCEMAS
Beni Yotfuth
Targist
Thafsaath
Aith Yūsuf
Aith 'Abd-el-Qādir
Aith 'Amar u Sa'īd
Aith Turīn
Thigzīren (A)
Bulma (A)
(Aith Lefa)
Sammar
Bū Khrif
Bū Ḥāmed
Aith Ḥalīfa
Aith Sa'īd
Zour
Bū Sālih
Aith Ḥamouth
Aith Ḥamouth
Aith Ḥamouth

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

announced upon his arrival home that he had shot the man and returned undetected. The *amghār* soon learned the truth, and locked up his *akhammās* for three days without food or water. He then sent him packing, after cutting off his ears.

Under circumstances like these, in which even women did not dare go to work alone in the fields and in which men always had to carry their rifles to the mosque or to the market, it might seem, carrying Montagne's argument one step further, that no groupings larger than the *thārfiqth* could exist at all. They do exist, however, thanks to the mechanism of the *liff* alliance system, and the next one up the scale is the *jamā'ath* or *dshār*, the «village», a collection of both related and unrelated *thārfiqīn*. I use the word «village» advisedly, nevertheless; its geographical limits, known perfectly by the tribesmen themselves, are difficult for the outsider to discern owing to the linear nature of the terrain and the scattered house distribution. Its site may be determined by the excessive growth of one *thārfiqth*, by the proximity of a spring, by discords and internal struggles, or by any number of other causes. Its two principal requirements are a communal village mosque (there is often more than one mosque to a village) and a local assembly consisting of the headmen *(izdīfen*, sing. *azdīf)* of its component *thārfiqīn*. This assembly is still in large measure the governing body of the village, and it administrates village affairs largely according customary law *('urf)*; under its jurisdiction fall matters relating to individual and family order, theft of small articles such as eggs and poultry and olives and grapes, vigilance of orchards, reparation of irrigation ditches, and the like. It meets once a week in the courtyard of one of the village mosques, or under a wild olive tree, to hear and try cases of local importance. It elects the *faqīh* of the mosque, who gives Qur'anic instruction to the boys of the village, and the *shaikh arfiiiāḥath* or *aquwwām* to direct work in the fields and to oversee the *tawīzas* or corvees working on irrigation projects (12). Today it also elects a moderator to direct and keep order during its meetings; he is usually the village *jārī* or headman. The mosque, school and cemetery are all communal property of the *jamā-*

(12) Paniagua y Santos, José María: «Notas sobre el derecho consuetudinario de la propiedad en el Rif». **Archivos del Instituto de Estudios Africanos**, núm. 4, primer semestre, Madrid, Junio 1948, pp. 1-44. My references on p. 14 and pp. 20-21.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

631 623 *'ath*, as, in the mountains, is the olive press; the *jamā'ath* also retains an indefinable hold over saints' tombs *(amrābidh*, pl. *imrābdhen)* if there are any in the vicinity. Each village also has its communal pasture lands *(ḥarīm)* and its scrub forests *(ghāba)*; these may neither be sold nor divided up, and are maintained *pro indiviso* for the sole use of the inhabitants of the village in question. These lands, generally, surround the village, and form a vague line of demarcation between it and the next village; their situation and extension are such that a woman, for instance, can go out after sunrise to cut *ghāba* and return home before sunset (13).

631 The next unit up the scale is the minor political division called *farīqath*, which the Spanish administration refers to as «subfraction» This unit usually takes the form of a canton, a single hill-valley- or watershed-unit, comprising some four or five villages. The administration has brought this grouping into sharper relief by putting a *muqaddam* at its head; but this is for administrative purposes only and is not, except in a few cases, a true reflection of the tribal social structure. In the minds of the tribepeople the *farīqath* is ultimately [614] a descent grouping the members of which are related by blood, although the genealogical steps leading back to the common ancestor (if there was a common ancestor) are no longer traceable. We can find elements of one *farīqath* in the territory of another, and in only about half of these divisions, principally those in the southern mountains, the most homogeneous part of the tribal territory, do we see that the tribal and administrative concepts of the *farīqath* coincide. The importance of this group is political rather than social, because there are always some *thārfiqīn* within the cantonal territory which are not related to the others by blood. In general, ties which hold the members of a canton together are largely those of common interests: on Fridays they all go to the principal cantonal mosque *(thamzīda n khuṭbath)* to pray and to listen to the sermon preached by the *faqīh*. Blood relationship between the members of a canton, however tenuous it may be, nevertheless helps to keep peace, and cantonal wars have usually been heaviest in those cantons which show a greater mixture of various elements.

(13) Martos de Castro, José: «Lo bereber en Marruecos y sus relaciones con lo ibero». in Alta Comisaría de España en Marruecos: **Labor de España en Africa**, Barcelona 1946, pp. 309-333. My references from pp. 328-333.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

Next on the list is the major or primary political section, called either *rba'* (pl. *rubū'*) or *thakhammāsth* (pl. *thikhammāsīn*), which literally mean «fourth» and «fifth», respectively. In Aith Wuryāghil, at any rate, these terms are virtually synonymous, although, functionally speaking, the latter is more applicable to the tribesmen's own concept of the political segmentation of their tribe. Aith Wuryāghil is considered as being divided into five major sections, each of which supposedly claims descent, in its turn, from a common ancestor. It is significant that the tribe as a unit does *not* claim such descent; its traditions of origin show it to be a grafting together of various elements, most of which came originally from Giznāya in very ancient times. But the fact that its people regard themselves as a tribe, as a single unit, in opposition to and when threatened by other tribes, we shall see presently. 631

The five major sections alluded to above are: 1) *Aith Yūsuf u 'Alī*, pronounced «Aith Yūsuf Wārī» (with *Aith Turīrth*) and *Aith 'Alī* pronounced «Aith 'Arī» (with *Thimārzgha*), the two of which traditionally constitute a single division, by virtue of their descent from two brothers, Yūsuf u 'Alī and 'Alī u 'Alī; 2) *Aith 'Abdallāh*; 3) *Aith 'Arūs* (with *Aith Ḥadīfa* and *I'akīyen*); 4) *Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh* (with *Aith 'Adhīya*); and 5) Imrābdhen. With the exception of Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh and Aith 'Abdallāh, who maintain their territorial holdings as solid blocs, all the other divisions have their principal lands in the mountains and enclaves in the plains, or vice versa, and the Imrābdhen, the descendants of Arab *shurfā* as their name, in Riffianized Arabic, indicates, form a supplementary division the segments of which are distributed throughout the whole tribal territory. We see in these divisions the historical basis of the two *liſūf* (sig. *liff*) or political moieties of Aith Wuryāghil, Aith Yūsuf and Aith 'Alī, which became crystallized through the struggles between the descendants of the two brothers Yūsuf and 'Alī; these descendants form, as we have seen, a single *thakhammāsth* or «fifth». In the first *liff*, headed by *Aith Yūsuf u 'Alī*, fall Imrābdhen, allied by marriage with the former since their beginnings Aith 'Arūs (with Aith Ḥadīfa and I'akiyen), half of Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh (the *farīqath* of Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh), and, in case of an intertribal war, the tribe of Aith 'Ammarth; in the second *liff*, *Aith 'Alī*, are Aith 'Abdallāh and the other half of Aith

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

63| Bū 'Ayyāsh (the *farīqath* of Aith 'Adhīya). Although the second *liff* was the smaller of the two, its fighting strength was heavily reinforced by Aith 'Abdallāh and Aith 'Adhīya, both of which groups have very bellicose reputations. Aith Ḥadīfa and Imrābdhen are weaker sections, on the other hand, while the presence of half of the «fifth» of Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh in each *liff* shows how divided within itself this biggest and most warlike of all the divisions used to be. It is also appropriate to point out that only in connection with «fifth» of Aith Yūsuf u 'Alī (later to produce 'Abd al-Karīm) and Aith 'Alī does the term *rbā'*, in Wuryāghlī parlance, differ in political significance from *thakhammāsth*; Ait Yūsuf u 'Alī and Aith 'Alī and Aith 'Alī are considered as separate *rubū'* belonging to the same *thakhammāsth*, implying, somewhat paradoxically, that a «fifth» is larger than a «fourth». In all the other major sections the terms are used interchangeably, although at the present time *rbā'* takes precedence, as. under the Spanish administration, there are six and not five administrative divisions in the tribe, two in each of three «caidatos». Referred to by the administrations as «fractions», these consist of Aith Yūsuf u 'Alī and Imrābdhen in the caidato of Uṭa, Aith 'Abdallāh and Aith Ḥadīfa in the caidato of the Upper Ghīs, and Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh and Jabal (Aith 'Arūs, Aith Turīrth of Aith Yūsuf u 'Alī and Thimārzgha of Aith 'Alī) in the caidato of Nakūr.

Aith Wuryāghīl, being the biggest tribe in the Spanish Protectorate, has been given the status of a separate «comarcal» by the administration, and each of the three caidatos is governed by a *qā'id*, who is assisted in his duties by a *khalīfa*. Under and subject to him are the *shiyūkh* (sing. *shaikh*) of the rubū' or «fractions», each of whom is also assisted by a *khalīfa*. The qā'id presides over his tribunal (*maḥkāma*) every week in the principal market of the caidato In addition, special «fractional» juntas were created as of 1952 by the administration; these are made up of all the *muqaddamīn* (sing. *muqaddam*) of the «subfractions» (*farīqath*) and of all the representative (*ukīl*) of the villages, usually the village *jurā'ī* (sing. *jārī*). This junta, which meets every three months in the «fractional» market, is presided over by the *shaikh*. Its principal duty is to carry out the collection of the *tartīb*, the tax paid to the Makhzin in Tetuan by each farmer on each head of livestock and on each hectare

69|
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3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

of land under cultivation which he possesses; it also assures the collection of the market tax, a small tariff paid by each man to the market *amīn* on the animals and produce which he brings into the market to sell. The money is destined for «fractional» use entirely: upkeep of the market, digging a new well, or for any purpose which pertains to or is of interest to the «fraction» in general. The *shaikh* of the «fraction» is responsible to the *qā'id* for the assessment and collection of this money, while the *qā'id* himself takes direct charge of matters which involve the caidato as a whole. In another building in the market place, the *qāḍī*, also assisted by a *khalīfa*, administers the Sharī'ā, which at the present time has largely supplanted the old Riffian *'urf* or customary law.

This form of government, based entirely on the Arab system, has completely superseded the old regime of the *Aith Arba'in*, of the *imghāren* (sing. *amghār*), the family and village headmen who, in each «fifth», used to make up its governing body in the days before 'Abd al-Karīm. The powers of the *imghāren*, who also used to meet in the market, were much more extensive than those of the modern «fractional» junta, and included assessment and collection of fines for theft of livestock, for talking to women in the market, for suspected but unproven adultery, and the collection of blood money (*dīyath*). These duties and the unwritten customary law which governed them have all been substantially assimilated by the legal jurisdiction of the Makhzin and by the Sharī'a.

Although in the old days there was no higher body politic than the *imghāren* of the «fifth», those of all five «fifths» used to meet together at a place called *aghrau* (p. *ighrāwen)*, the location of of which had previously been announced in the market by the *barrāḥ* or market crier, in case a crisis arose which assumed tribal proportions. In case of adultery caught *in flagrante delicto*, the injured husband had, and still has, the traditional privilege of killing his wife and her lover with exemption from payment of blood money. In case of murder committed on profane ground, the murderer had to pay a fine *(ḥaqq)* of 5.000 pesetas to the *imghāren*, and blood money amounting to 6.000 pesetas to his victim's family, provided the latter chose to accept it. If they did not, as was usually the case, a feud was in full swing immediately, and the council members, lea-

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

system of alliances which 'Abd al-Karīm displayed during the early part oh his war was one of the major reasons for his successful unification of the Rīf (16).

It must the stated here, however, that it was unusual for most feuds to become anything more than shootings on a local scale. First of all, feuding kept the population down; sescondly, house burnings and exaction of fines by the *imghāren* were harsh repressive measures in themselves; thirdly, the constant fear of outside invasion by the councillors of another tribe (which occurred wen the *imghāren* of Aith 'Ammarth stepped in on the side of Aith Yūsuf to end a feud between the latter and Aith 'Alī, plus the standard alignment of other «fifths», which had been going on for seven years) tended to restrict the scope of the feud and to prevent it from spreading; and fourthly, individuals who were considered habitual troublemakers and soreheads even by Riffian standards were exiled. If they refused to accept the dictum of the *imghāren* they were unceremoniously put to death.

The above is a reflection of the Riffian political system and situation which prevailed up until the time of 'Abd al-Karīm. The governmental structure of Aith Wuryāghil followed to the letter the true Berber pattern of superimposed representative councils, with a few of the members of each deliberative body being chosen to participate in the council of the group a rung higher up the ladder. Furthermre, thanks to the *liff* alliance system, as Blanco says, the individual in the *thārfiqth*, the *thārfiqth* in the *jamā'ath*, the *jamā'ath* in the «fifth», the «fifth» in the tribe *(thaqbīt*, pl. *thaqbīr*, from Arabic *qabīla*, pl. *qabā'il)*, and the tribe in relation to other tribes all maintain an unstable equilibrium, expressed in terms of the linking of *rubū'* or of «fifths», and ultimately, in the two great rival moieties of Ṣinhāja and Ghumāra (17). As it happens in our particular case, Aith Wuryāghil was (and is) too large and powerful to need formal alliances with other tribes, its only active ally having been Aith 'Ammarth, for, as many old greybeards have told me, «We could still go out and eat Tamsamān or Aith Tuzīn any day of the week»; but for small tribes surrounded by big neighbors, such as Thafarsīth,

(16) Coon, 1951, p. 317.
(17) Blanco Izaga, 1939, p. 70.

3:Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

631 the *liff* mechanism was an absolute necessity, for if it did not exist they would have been swallowed up long ago.

619 175 178 The entrance of the Pretender Bū Ḥimāra into the Rīf in 1908 and the short war with Spain in 1909 brought about a disruption of some of the traditional alliances and the constitution of new ones. This had a particularly important effect upon Aith Wuryāghil because, for the first time, the tribe became truly united. Reinforced by contingents from Aith 'Ammarth, the warriors of Aith Wuryāghil banded together to resist the Rūghī and his *ḥarka* of Riffians from the east. They defeated him at the Battle of Imzūren and managed very effectively to check his progress in the Central Rīf.

619 We can thus see that tribal unity, dormant under normal conditions, is manifested when outside forces threaten to upset group equilibrium. The strongest allegiances are family and *thārfiqth* ties, but, in opposition to neighboring tribes, tribal allegiance is undivided. This has its reflection in tribal nomenclature: a man from Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh is called Bū 'Ayyāshī only in the tribal territory of Aith Wuryāghil. Outside it he is called Wuryāghlī, and if he is outside the Rīf entirely he is usually just referred to as ar-Rīfī. This is how the Riffian really defines his tribe, by inferred comparison to and in opposition to other tribes. Writing about another tribal society, the Nuer of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, Dr. E. E. Evans-Pritchard has defined a tribe as having: 1) a common and distinct name; 2) a common sentiment; 3) a common and distinct territory; 4) a moral obligation to unite in war, and 5) a moral obligation to settle feuds and other disputes by arbitration. It is precisely upon these criteria that the Aith Wuryāghil base their own concept of their tribe, as do all the other tribal groups as well. When menaced by Bū Ḥimāra, the Aith Wuryāghil were welded together by their common «we-feeling», and stopped him.

631 175 178 The ultimate result of Bū Ḥimāra's campaign in the Rīf was the rise to personal power of a number of petty *imghāren* who became absolute masters in their own bailiwicks. Such men were the Ḥājj Buqqaish in northern Giznāya, Muḥammad 'Abdallāh of Aith ar-Ḥāsain in Aith 'Ammarth, and, in Aith Wuryāghil itself, Muḥand Ḥaddū of Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh, Sī Ziyān of Ajdīr (Aith Yūsuf u 'Alī), Ḥājj Ḥaddū of Aith 'Alī, Sīdī 'Amar of Imrābdhen, Mūḥand n Sī 'Amar of Aith

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

Ḥadīfa, and ʿAmar n Ṭāhir of Aith ʿAbdallāh. This situation, with its concomitant *liff* alliances and wars between «fifths», prevailed until 1920, when Muḥammad n ʿAbd al-Karīm made his first appearance upon the Riffian scene. The story of ʿAbd al-Karīm, whose relatively obscure beginnings (his father was a *qāḍī* of Ajdīr and not the *qā'id* of Aith Wuryāghil, as is generally supposed) and sudden ascendancy first over his own tribe and then over the whole Rīf, the «Sultan» of which he then became, is too well known to students of Moroccan history to need recounting here. It is highly significant, however, in accounting, at least in part, for the Arabized type of governmental organization which exists among the tribes of the Rīf at the present day.

After ʿAbd al-Karīm took the reins of the jihād against Spain, it was necessary for him to start to consolidate his authority by installing individuals whom he could trust at all points, from the highest to the lowest, from «fifth» to village, in the political structure of his own and of the other nuclear Riffian tribes. The inner circle of men who made up his cabinet was composed almost entirely of his relatives and friends from Ajdīr, which became his capital: his brother Mḥammad was his khalīfa and the Commander of the Regular Riffian Army; his paternal uncle ʿAbd as-Salām was the Minister of Finance; his brother-in-law Muḥ Azarqan was the Minister of Foreign Affairs; and Aḥmad Būdra, now the *qā'id* of the caidato of Nakūr, was the Minister of War. This move brought about considerable objection on the part of *imghāren* of some of the nearby tribes, who, by and large, considered ʿAbd al-Karīm to be a parvenu. He had, in fact, for some time previously been working for the Spanish Government in Melilla.

The separatist and explosive temperament of the central Riffians themselves had long fostered the maintenance of a decentralized type of government in which impetuous and trigger-happy council members were responsible as much for starting blood feuds as for stopping them. Feuding and the mechanism which served to maintain it, the inbred rivalry engendered by the *liff* alliance system, had to be silenced if the Riffians were to put up a united front against Spain. Tribal wars could only be abolished if the structure of political authority in the tribes themselves became more centralized. The traditional Berber political organization does not easily lend itself to administration from above, whereas the Arab type does. ʿAbd al-Karīm forced the

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

631 newer system on all the tribes in his domain if they did not have it
175 already. Although the *imghāren* loomed large in the early battles
178 of Ighrīben and Anwāl in 1921, their status had become reduced to that of *quyād al-miya* or *quyād al-miyatain* (*qā'idṣ* of 100 or 200 men) by the time the *Jumhūrīya Rīfīya* or Riffian State was officially created in 1924. Almost all the men in key position in the new government were from Aith Wuryāghīl but *quyād*, *shiyūkh* and *muqaddamīn* took the place of the old *imghāren;* some of the latter fell in with the new regime and became prominent military commanders, while others, like those of the Ghumāra, jealous of 'Abd al-Karīm's success, staged a revolt against him in 1924 and were quietly poisoned or taken off to die in the jails of Ajdīr and Thamāsīnd. By the time 'Abd al-Karīm had conquered the Jibāla and captured his rival Raisūlī in 1925, he was master of all northern Morocco.

692 The natural supplement to this Arabization of the old Riffian
671 political system was the substitution of the Sharī'a for the earlier
178 customary law. Before 1920, custom, or *'urf*, had been king. If a case had arisen which had previously been unprovided for in Riffian law, the *imghāren* met to discuss it. When they agreed upon a solution, which was usually expressed in terms of payment of such and such a fine, the local *sharīf* or any man whose piety and good sense was known and respected by all was called in to give his testimony and sanction to the law in question, if it did not run counter to the Sharī'a. After the law was passed it was registered by the *ṭulbā* or students in the Friday mosque, and proclaimed in the market by the *barrāḥ* (18). These were the only steps necessary to integrate that law into the corpus of tribal custom. It was, in all but the most serious offenses, as we have seen, the «fifth» or the *farīqath* or even the village rather than tribe collectively which made the law and carried it out.

As has been implied above, 'Abd al-Karīm greatly weakened the power of the *imghāren* by centralizing the political authority in himself as head of a new Muslim state. This state was set up to conform to an orthodox Islamic pattern, and therefore the old customary law had to go. It went, and the result was that the Sharī'a was administered according to the Mālikī rite by a *qāḍī* in each «fifth» of the tribe. The weekly markets, in addition to their earlier functions as

(18) Blanco Izaga, 1939, p. 20.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

commercial and governmental centers, became legal temples as well, when separate tribunals were also set up for the *qāḍīs*, their *khalīfas* and their *'adūl*. In the old days there had been *qāḍīs* too, but they operated on a far more informal basis; they held court in their own houses, and, in actual practice, they acted more as arbiters of Berber custom than as administrators of Islamic Law, while, as Blanco remarks (19), the *'adūl* limited themselves to registering acts passed by the customary tribunal. The *imghāren* were the people who counted, and, until 'Abd al-Karīm's time *qā'ids*, *qāḍīs*, *muqaddams* and other functionaries with Arab titles were largely negative concepts in Aith Wuryāghil and in the other tribes of the Central Rīf. Today, of course, the situation has been reversed; there are no more *imghāren*, while customary law operates on the village level alone, and plays second fiddle to the Sharī'a even there.

A political reorientation toward an Arab governmental prototype thus became a mechanism for the preservation of Riffian freedom. But 'Abd al-Karīm's carefully constructed Jumhūrīya Rīfīya was short-lived; it collapsed like a house of cards in 1926, two years after its foundation, when the tribal fastness of Aith Wuryāghil was itself invaded from the north by Spain and from the south by France, at which time the Wuryāghlī commanders in the Jibāla and on the Wargha River rushed back to defend their own homes. Nevertheless, in the framework of 'Abd al-Karīm's Riffian State the Spaniards found a ready-made administrative set-up which has continued, with only minor alterations, to the present day. When the Riffian leader first came to power, he installed *qā'ids* in the *rubū'* of Aith Yūsuf u 'Alī and Aith 'Alī and in the «fifths» of Imrābdhen, Ait Ḥadīfa, Aith 'Abdallāh and Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh. Later on, when the French Army began to push up into the Central Rīf from the south, he added two more caidatos, Turīrth-Thimārzgha and Aith 'Arūs, to tighten up his control over the unruly mountaineers in the southeast part of the tribe. After the war the Spanish administration maintained this chain of command, setting up tribal «intervención» posts in Ajdīr, Thamāsīnd, Aith Ḥadīfa (Sūq ath-Thnain), Aith 'Amar u Sa'īd (Aith Ḥadīfa), Turīrth (Sūq al-Arba'), and Imnūdh (Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh). In 1934, however, they subdivided the tribe into the three aforementioned

(19) Blanco Izaga, 1939, p. 26.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

caidatos of Uṭa, Upper Ghīs and Nakūr, this arrangement being the one which exists today. A far cry from the old *imghāren* of the *Bilād as-Saiba* days, each *qā'id* is now the representative in his caidato of the government of S. A. The Khalīfa Mūlāy al-Ḥasan in Tetuan. Most of the tribal functionaries have already been discussed, but in addition there are today in each caidato a *nāẓir al-aḥbās*, who takes charge of *ḥabūs* property, owned by most of the cantonal mosques. an *abū l-muwārith*, who turns over to the Makhzin the property of those Riffians who die intestate, and an *ukīl al-ghuyāb*, who handles the legal affairs of those of his fellow tribesmen who are not present to represent themselves. Considering that about eight thousand men go to Algeria to look for temporary employment every year during the harvesting season, the last mentioned official has a lot of work on his hands. The *qā'ids* and the *qāḍīs* each hold their respective *maḥkāmas* in the principal markets of each caidato: Sūq ath-Thnain of Aith Ḥadīfa in Upper Ghīs, Sūq al-Arba' of Turīrth in Nakūr, and Sūq as-Sibt of Imzūren in Uṭa.

These weekly markets *(sūq*, pl. *aswāq)*, held in the open air, are still among the most important of not only Riffian institutions, but those of tribal Morocco in general. There are six such markets spread throughout the tribe: the Sunday market at Thamāsīnd, the Monday markets at Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh (Izakīren) and Aith Ḥadīfa, the Wednesday market at Turīrth, the Thursday market of Imrābdhen, and the Saturday market of Imzūren, formerly the Wednesday market of Sīdī Bū Afīf. These markets are so situated that any tribesman can go to them, do his business and return, all in the same day. They serve not only for the circulation of local products (animals, grains, vegetables. fruits, eggs. butter, poultry, meat, milk hides, wool, salt, charcoal), but also as places of exchange for the fruit of local industry (plows, winnowing forks, wooden shovels, wooden pestles, stone hand mills of the rotary quern type, homemade rugs and other wool objects, mats, handmade pottery, and the esparto grass sandals so characteristic of the Central Rīf). In addition, the markets act as clearing houses for leather goods made in Tetuan and Tāghzūth (babuches, scrips and harness) and for objects of all kinds imported from Spain and from French Morocco: sugar, tea, soap, spices, henna, matches, candles, nails, thread, glassware, and bolts of brightly colo-

000 primera was low man, generally, on an administrative totem pole which went back through the interventor comarcal, then through the interventor regional, and finally back to the Delegación de Asuntos Indígenas in Tetuan - and, ultimately, up to the High Commissioner. [631] Yet this same interventor was on a par with the tribal qaid, usually a man nearly twice his own age, who himself happened to be at the top of his own particular pyramid, consisting (administratively) of village or community mqaddim, clan or "fractional" shaikh, and, finally, qaid of the tribe, the ceiling administrative unit (except in the case of the Aith Waryaghar, who, until Emilio Blanco appeared, were rather too large for effective administration along normal lines...). But the break in the system occurred just at the qaid-interventor point, at the point, precisely, of foreign administrator and local strongman - and in theory, the latter could only pipeline messages back to the capital through the former - though in fact, if he were wise and should the situation require it, he generally had other methods of communication as well. (And since Independence, although the qaid is often a non-local civil servant, and although his local shaikhs and mqaddmin, of clans and villages respectively, depend, as he himself does, on the Ministry of Interior, their own particular abilities at "break-through" even to the local provincial authorities depend on the number of friends they have "at court", and on the local patronage-clientage network. Rifians, at least, state categorically that in Spanish times the qaid, whatever his shortcomings, was one of themselves, and, in retrospect, that the Spanish Intervención usually tended to choose the right man for the job.)

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5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

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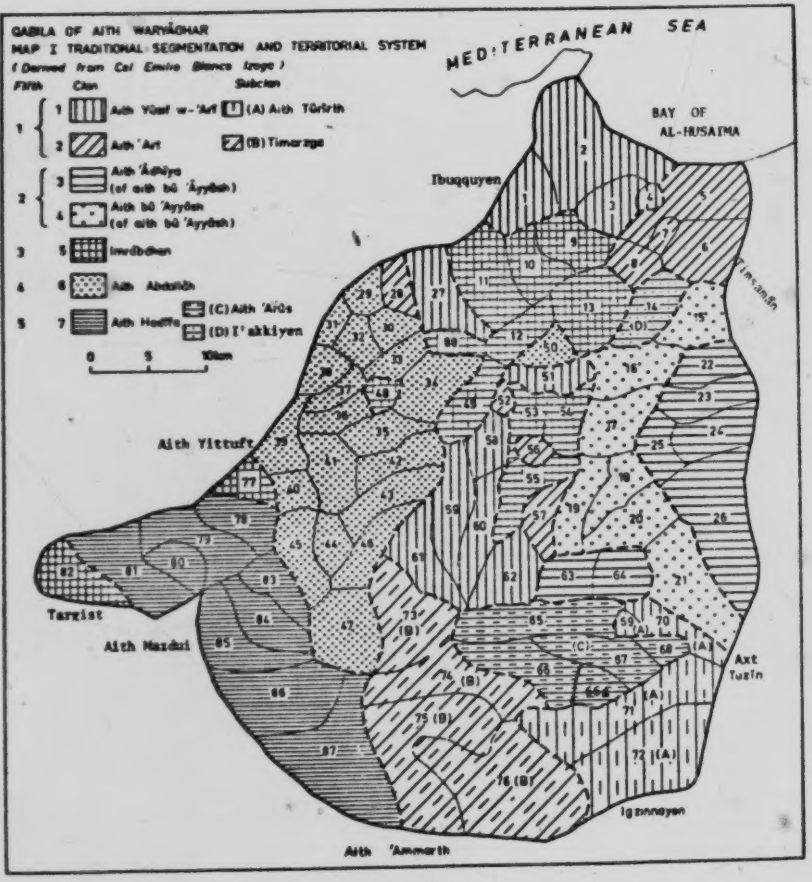
BLANCO MAP I (1934)



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KEY TO BLANCO MAP, 1934 - TRADITIONAL SEGMENTARY AND TERRITORIAL SYSTEM OF THE AITH WARYAGHAR (Derived from EMILIO BLANCO IZAGA)

N.B. Numbers of "fifths" and clans correspond to those, numbered 1-5 and 1-7 respectively, on the legend of the map, while nos. 1-88 represent local communities.

1 - "FIFTH" OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI/AITH 'ARI

(1) - CLAN OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI

1. Izifzafen
2. Ajdir: Aith 'Aru 'Aisa, Aith Misa'ud u-Yusif, Aith Zara'
3. Azghar
4. Aith Mhand u-Yihya of the Plain

(2) - CLAN OF AITH 'ARI

5. Tafrasth
6. Aith Musa w-'Amar
7. Imjjudhen
8. Tigarth

3 - "FIFTH" OF IMRABDHEN

(1) - CLAN OF IMRABDHEN

9. Aith Hishim
10. Aith Misa'ud
11. Aith Qamra
12. Idardushen
13. Ifasiyen, Aith Brahim, Aith 'Amar u-Bukar, Aith Yusif

5 - "FIFTH" OF AITH HADHIFA

(7) - CLAN OF AITH HADHIFA

14. (D). Subclan of I'AKKIYEN

2 - "FIFTH" OF AITH BU 'AYYASH

(4) - CLAN OF "TRUE" AITH BU 'AYYASH

15. Izakiren
16. Aith Tfarwin
17. Isufiyen
18. Aith Tfarwin (again)
19. Aith Ta'a
20. Iriyanen
21. Aith Bu Khrif

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(3) - CLAN OF AITH 'ADHIYA

22. Ighmiren
23. Ajdir Bu Qiyadhen
24. Imnudh
25. Aith Bu Qiyadhen (r-Rabda)
26. Tazurakhth: Aith 'Aisa, Aith Ruqman

1 - "FIFTH" OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI/AITH 'ARI

(1) - CLAN OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI

27. Aith Buham

1 - "FIFTH" OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI/AITH 'ARI

(2) - CLAN OF AITH 'ARI

28. Aith Dawud

4 - "FIFTH" OF AITH 'ABDALLAH

(6) - CLAN OF AITH 'ABDALLAH

29. Tazaghin
30. Aith Zkri
31. Imarnisen
32. Tizi 'Ayyash
33. Ibunharen
34. Bu Khalifa (Aith Ziyyan)
35. Iqanniyen
36. Ikiddaben
37. Uqrishen
38. Dahar n-Zimmurth
39. Thariwin
40. Bu Sarah (Bu Salah)
41. Aith Sa'id
42. Aith Dris
43. Bu Zdur (Tigarth 'Ari)
44. Ihwahwahiyen
45. Thirkuzin (Tilkuzin)
46. Thimkiliwin
47. Marrui

3 - "FIFTH" OF IMRABDHEN

(5) - CLAN OF IMRABDHEN

48. Bu Ghardain
49. Zawith n-Sidi 'Aisa (Zawiya Sidi 'Aisa)

4 - "FIFTH" OF AITH 'ABDALLAH

(6) - CLAN OF AITH 'ABDALLAH

50. I'ayyaden

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1 - "FIFTH" OF THE AITH YUSIF W-'ARI/AITH 'ARI

(1) - CLAN OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI

51. Thamasind n-Waddai (Lower Thamasind)

(2) - CLAN OF AITH 'ARI

52. Bu Minqad

3 - "FIFTH" OF IMRABDHEN

(5) - CLAN OF IMRABDHEN

53. Aith r-Qadi
54. Aith 'Aziz
55. Aith r-Qadi (again, I'athmanen

1 - "FIFTH" OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI/AITH 'ARI

(2) - CLAN OF AITH 'ARI

56. Thamasind n-Dara (Upper Thamasind)
57. Iswiqen

(1) - CLAN OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI

58. Aghridh (Aghlid)
59. Aith Mhand u-Yihya of the Mountains
60. 'Arnuq
61. Isrihan
62. Ikattshumen (Ikultumen)

2 - "FIFTH" OF AITH BU 'AYYASH

(3) - CLAN OF AITH 'ADHIYA

63. Ighmiren (again)
64. Igar w-Anu

5 - "FIFTH" OF AITH HADHIFA

(7) - CLAN OF AITH HADHIFA

(C) - Subclan of AITH 'ARUS

(C) 65. Bu Sa'ida
(C) 66. Aith Tigarth (or simply Tigarth)
(C) 66a. Aith u-Maru (or simply Maru): "people of the shade"
(C) 67. Aith u-Sammar (or simply Sammar): "people of the sun"
(C) 68. Aith Juhra

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1 - "FIFTH" OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI/AITH 'ARI

(1) - CLAN OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI

(A) - Subclan of AITH TURIRTH

(A) 69. Aith 'Amar
(A) 70. Thizimmurin
(A) 71. Thigzirin
(A) 72. Bulma, Ignam, l-'Ass

(2) - CLAN OF AITH 'ARI

(B) - Subclan of TIMARZGA

(B) 73. r-Maqsuridh
(B) 74. Bu Ma'dan
(B) 75. Thafsasth
(B) 76. Aith Yusif

3 - "FIFTH" OF IMRABDHEN

(5) - CLAN OF IMRABDHEN

77. Kammun

5 - "FIFTH" OF AITH HADHIFA

(7) - CLAN OF "TRUE" AITH HADHIFA

78. Mishkur
79. Ihadduthen
80. Iharunen
81. Thizimmurin

3 - "FIFTH OF IMRABDHEN

(5) - CLAN OF IMRABDHEN

82. Thamarkatt (Tamarkalt)

5 - "FIFTH" OF AITH HADHIFA

(7) - CLAN OF AITH HADHIFA

83. Bihban
84. Aghzar 'Aisa
85. Bashkra
86. Aith 'Amar u-Sa'id
87. Zawith n-Sidi 'Abd r-Qadar (Zawiya Sidi 'Abd l-Qadir)

3 - "FIFTH" OF IMRABDHEN

(5) - CLAN OF IMRABDHEN

88. Izarruqen

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[619]

H) The Traditional Jma'ths of the Aith Waryaghar:

In the tribe of the Aith Waryaghar, which possesses an extremely complex social structure[114].....the traditional jma'th contains nuclei so scattered that it is not rare to see them within all three qa'idates into which, at the present day (1935) and from an administrative viewpoint, the tribe is divided. Within the [648] Arab and Makhzin, or governmental, framework into which an attempt has been made to fit the organization of the Rifian tribes, this fact presupposes an almost insuperable administrative impossibility, [643] that of making them (i.e. the traditional jma'ths) revive. The mosaic of the traditional jma'ths was one over which the chief himself (e.g. 'Abd al-Krim) stumbled, and which he put aside instead of resolving, merely superimposing his own circumstantial wartime organization over it[115].

Let us look at a few of the pieces in this mosaic.

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1) Aith Mhand u Yihya:--A jma'th (of the clan of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari) which is found to be divided into two more jma'ths: one situated in the Plain of Alhucemas, and in the vicinity of the bridge over the Ghis River, and, for this reason, belonging to the Qa'idate of l-Uta (in Rifian, r-Udha, "plain"); and the other, the original, ancestral and founding one, situated south of the Suq r-Had or Sunday Market of Thisar[116], and belonging, administratively, to the Qa'idate of the Upper Ghis.

2) Ixatshumen (mountain pronunciation) or Ikttumen (Plain of Alhucemas pronunciation, and written in Arabic as Ikiltumen):--This traditional jma'th (also of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari clan) is also

621 631 131 divided into two others of the same name, to which is added the geographical denomination of "mountain" or "plain", according to the location of each. Each one of these two divisions, like those of the Aith Mhand u Yihya, belongs to two different qa'idates: the mountain group, which is south of the women's market called Suq r-Had n-Timgharin (Sunday Women's Market")[117] at Iswiqen, to the Qa'idate of Nkur; and the plains group, in the vicinity of Imzuren, to the Qa'idate of l-Uta. The originating group is the mountain one.

3) Isrihan:--This jma'th (again of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari), again, is divided into two others: the mountain part, in the folds of the Jbil Hamam[117a], belongs to the Qa'idate of Nkur, and the lowland part, in the Buham Plain and known as Isrihan n Buham, belongs to the Qa'idate of l-Uta[118].

4) Bu Minqadh:--This jma'th (of the clan of the Aith 'Ari) presents a further complication, that of a three-fold division: the founding and original section, in Sidi 'Abd Allah u Yusif, near the women's market at Iswiqen, is in the Qa'idate of Nkur; while of its two offshoots, both in the Qa'idate of l-Uta, one if near Thamasind and the other is found down in the plain near Imzuren. There is thus a Mountain Bu Minqadh, a Foothills Bu Minqadh, and a Plains Bu Minqadh.

5) Aith 'Aziz:--There are today two jma'ths (of the clan of the Imrabdhen) of this name, one in Thamasind and the other in Imzuren; and although both are located within the Qa'idate of l-Uta, this fact is purely coincidental.

621 6) Thamasind:--There are two jma'ths of this name: one is called Thamasind n Dara (Upper Thamasind), and the other, Thamasind n

Waddai (Lower Thamasind). These two have been spatially separated for a long time, although they both happen to be located in the Qa'idate of I-Uta[119].

Aside from these examples given above, we then have those jma'ths which, after their descent to the plain, lose their original names, such, for instance, as Ajdir, and acquire those of new geographical locations or founders without, however, losing their ties with the parent jma'th until these become relaxed with the passing of time or until new needs cause them to become independent, as we find them today, if in the inversion of roles the newly formed nucleus is not imposing itself on the original one, thus becoming converted into a tributary group. We have just seen that among the Aith Waryaghar there are traditional jma'ths which are found to be split, the displaced groups often occupying sites very distant from the original ones; and the fact that this displacement occurred long, long ago led them to become independent of the originating jma'th, and to constitute new jma'ths on their own or even to graft themselves onto the neighboring jma'ths when their importance or convenience so dictated.

By the same token, also, there are jma'ths which are not of the same origin and which may form the initial fusion of perhaps as many as twenty different kin groups and stranger accretions of the most diverse origins[120]. An example of this may be found in Swani, in which the lower part of the jma'th is made up of descendants of Sidi Mhand of Aith Hishim, of the clan of Imrabdhen, who are shurfa, and of the original founders, the people of Thafrasth, of the subclan

621 typical terms, like that of amghar, since the institution of the
6446 Aitharba'in, formerly an authentic democratic power, seems to have
182 depreciated and is now dormant.

621 The traditional Rifian jma'th according to my way of thinking and to the results of my own investigations, is not limited to an administrative unit, but was rather the essential administrative, gubernatorial and judicial organ. The jma'th was the sovereign, [114] such a wide concept, such an interesting collective entity and so little known to me that if I tried to define it precisely, now, at the present state of my knowledge, I would imagine the results to be erroneous.

131 Regarding the geographical regions considered in the order
●631 listed above, the Aith Waryaghar are reduced to three, which correspond approximately to the three qa'idates into which the tribe is divided: the region of the plan or the Qa'idate of I-Uta; the valley of the Upper Nkur River, or Qa'idate of the Nkur; and the valley of the Upper Ghis River, or Qa'idate of the Ghis[137]. Any other administrative division which might be made would not correspond with the same precision to the topography of Aith Waryaghar, for, in its geographical synthesis, this tribe is nothing more than the Ghis-Nkur
614 watershed. If a greater fractionizing does not seem necessary from a
631 geographical viewpoint, in order to maintain the subdivision of the tribe in its six present clans, five of them of ancient lineage and the sixth, that of the Jbil, imposed by necessity[138], with a shaikh at the head of each one because of the large territorial area which it covers, larger in some cases than that of other whole tribes, it is

614 certainly justified from a political and even from an ethnographic
631 standpoint. On the other hand, perhaps a greater simplification of the chain of command, brought by suppressing the khalifas of the qa'ids, a useless, retardatory and troublesome rung in the ladder, might be possible[139]; for the position of shaikh already exists, and in the absence of or in case of delegation of authority by the qa'ids.. ....the shiyukh can and do exercise the powers of the qa'id with all satisfaction, as has been observed in all cases and from all that has been told to me.

A chain of command without such useless steps would be restricted to qa'id and mqaddimin; but, nevertheless, the wide territorial extension which each of the clans of Aith Waryaghar has advises the retention of shaikhates in the manner expressed above; and the dispersion of the jma'ths advises in many cases the retention of the jwari (sing. jari)[140].

631 But these simplifications which are proposed in the framework
621 of authority in the tribe must be followed up with a stronger personality in the mqaddim which would make these jobs remunerative as well as having them, at the same time, fall on the shoulders of persons of true significance in the jma'th, so that the latter must listen to them, accepting procedures put forth by them and avoiding any chances that friendship, adhersion or mere servitude to the qa'id might annul this office, the one which is, in my opinion, the most important in a Berber tribe. It is certainly not advisable to try to accomplish this in one stroke; this patient revision of mqaddimin must be done without hurry on a jma'th-by-jma'th basis, if we wish to make a perfect

augmentation to the "building" or "house" of Rifian society (of which the traditional jma'th is the "cornerstone").[141]

Aith Waryaghar, then, could be organized in the following way:

I) QA'IDATE OF L-UTA: Shaikhate of Aith Yusif w 'Ari --12 jma'ths
Shaikhate of Imrabdhen --15 jma'ths

II) QA'IDATE OF NKUR: Shaikhate of Bni Bu 'Ayyash --16 jma'ths
Shaikhate of l-Jbil --16 jma'ths

III) QA'IDATE OF UPPER GHIS: Shaikhate of Bni Hadifa --12 jma'ths
Shaikhate of Bni 'Abd Allah --16 jma'ths

Total----87 jma'ths

If this organization is applied to the other tribes[142], the patron must be remembered in salary gradation, so that salaries do not turn out to be prejudiced as the Aith Waryaghar have been, up to now, both in salary and category of their office-holders and tribal authorities.

Ajdir, August 27, 1935.

I) Notes on the Igzinnayen:

1) Etymology and Language:--The word Gzinnaya (Rifian Igzinnayen) is derived from Berber gizna, meaning "libertine"[143]. The tribesmen of Igzinnayen are bilingual, although even so, Rifian speech has a far greater predominance over Arabic. Their men of letters (fqihs, etc.), although they know how to read and write Arabic, express themselves very poorly in that language, and their grammatical construction tends to be bad. Knowledge of French is extremely slight,

794 871 completely independently of the French authorities, and is done as a rule in areas which generally lack the most elementary conditions of hygiene and sanitation; and pedagogical procedures are very antiquated and inefficacious, and are limited to instruction of the Qur'an.... [872] [873] Almost all the schools are of "primary instruction", and those dedicated to "secondary instruction" are few and far between[166]. Some [829] [876] students cross the border to study in the Axt Tuzin, Aith Waryaghar and Thimsaman, not because the schools in those tribes are better, but because the Rifians believe a youth studies better if he is away from his family....The students, or imhadaren, eat the ma'ruf[167], and their teachers generally are given honoraria in kind.

692 4) Judiciary Organization:--There is a qadi in Aknul who serves all of the Igzinnayen, and he holds court every Tuesday, which is market day in Aknul, and once a month in Tizi Usli (market day on Mondays) and in Buridh (market day on Wednesdays)...

312 103 5) Water Points:--The area which is richest in springs is that of Jibarna, in the Asht r-Udha, in which the following springs are to be found: 'Ain Ta'amt, 'Ain bin Husain, 'Ain Khannus, 'Ain Bu Twilal, 'Ain Rahab, 'Ain Ulad bin 'Amar, and 'Ain Dar Qa'id Midbuh. In the Asht Mhand, there are two large springs in 'Ain 'Allal; and in Asht Marar, there are 'Ain Barda, 'Ain Fargugen, 'Ain Hmid, 'Ain Darduren, 'Ain Marja, and 'Ain Tassa[168].

619 [631] 6) Political Situation and Way of Life:--This tribe never formed part of any confederation, and in spite of the feuds to which we have referred above, it has always maintained its geographical and organizational unity. Today it may be said that there are no ostensible

619 614 361 Today it may be said that there are no ostensible and important divisions among the different clans of the Igzinnayen.... The Igzinnayen are sedentary and inhabit fixed houses, which, as among the Rifian tribes in the Spanish Zone, are located along the edges of valleys, in fertile lands, and, in a word, wherever life is easier. Nevertheless, there is, aside from the tribal hamlet-villages, no agglomeration of importance....The tribe is divided 619 614 administratively into seven clans, each one headed by a shaikh except for Asht 'Asim, which is divided into three shaikhates. One of the [621] [631] latter is made up of the communities of Buridh, Tamjund and Imharrushen, another by those of Ifran, Iaqrru'an and Iharrasen, and the third by Inhanahan, Thara Tazzugwakhth and Iharshriyen[169]; all these 619 clans ("fractions") are headed by a qa'id. The tribe of Igzinnayen presents a line of penetration between the tribes of the Rif and those of the Eastern Gharb, as it has been utilized over a long period of time as a path for incursions by the mountaineers into the plain.

619 614 621 7) Political Division:--Qaid (1940): Si Bu Tahar n Mqaddim Saihi.

a) Clan ("fraction") of Jibarna: contains villages of Asht Hammu w 'Amar, I'athmanen (1-'Atamna), Dharwa Haddum Jibarna and Suyah. Shaikh (1940): Muhammed l-Mihdi Fars.

b) Clan ("fraction") of Ishawiyen (Shawiya): contains villages of Dharwa 'Abdallah, Dharwa n Tawunza, Bu Isri, Imrabdhen n Wawizaght[170], Aknul, Nadhur, Ihammuthen and Izimmuren. Shaikh (1940): Bushta nj-Qa'id Buhush.

c) Clan ("fraction") of Marar: contains villages of Thighzrathin, Tasharbant, Dharwa 'Ari, Zarhun, Fiddan l-Kbir, Thighambuyin,

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114 However, we would still take a somewhat more charitable viewpoint, and question the somewhat ethnocentric notion that a tribal society is any more "anarchical", even in an "organized" sense, than that of a nation-state. In any event, all this terminology is taken from Montagne (op. cit., 1930).

000 20--Blanco uses the term ramo ascendiente, which, in the sense that a jajgu is conceived of as a branch (ramo)--the Rifians employ the term azwar, pl. izuran, "vein", in this connection--of a dharfiqth or or lineage group, is very apt. The use of a term such as "ascending", however, depends entirely on which way one looks at Rifian tribal segmentation: from the bottom up (nuclear family to tribe) or from the top down (tribe to family).

We have found, however, that, except in the single instance of the recitation of their own personal antecedents in unilinear progression to the ancestor who forms the "apex" of the lineage, Moroccan tribesmen invariably tend to give the segmentation of their own tribes starting from the top and working downwards. In the Rif, [631] indeed, this approach to the segmentary system is greatly reinforced [681] by the method of dividing up the fines (r-haqq) imposed upon murderers by the members of the tribal council. The division of such fines follows traditional segmentary lines as closely as possible; in such instances where this is not possible (and they are very few, only occurring in cases of territorial discontinuity among the larger lineages), it follows the next best thing, the territorial system, which is in essence nothing but the lineage system spread out spatially on the ground.

21--The term "canton" is taken from Montagne (op. cit., 1930), and is [634] also employed by Carleton S. Coon, Tribes of the Rif, Harvard African [114] Studies, vol. IX, Peabody Museum, Cambridge, Mass., 1931, p. 91. It [113] is a valid enough designation for the watershed canyon, ravine and gorge-studded districts of the higher mountains in the Rif (Konrad Wiche, "Marokkanische Stadttypen", in Festschrift zur Hundertjahrfeier der geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien, 1956-1956, Vienna, 1957, pp. 485-527, also employs the term Talschaften for similar districts in the Western Atlas), but loses its force if one attempts to apply it to the Plain of Alhusaima or the open rolling country of the Eastern Rif.

22--Khums (Rifian dhakhammasth) means "fifth", and is used only in the case of tribes which have five clans or maximal segments, such as the Aith Waryaghar, Igzinnayen (among whom, in fact, this alignment seems to have little functional significance), Thimsaman, Axt Tuzin, Aith Wurishik and Aith Sa'id. Furthermore, when it is said of any tribe that it "has five 'fifths'", this is an implicit admission that the tribe in question is a strong one. For a structural-functional analysis of the "fifth" among the Aith Waryaghar and elsewhere, see David M. Hart, "Segmentary Systems and the Role of 'Five Fifths' in Tribal Morocco", Revue de l'Occident Musulman et de la Méditérrannée, III, 1, 1967, pp. 65-95.

[114] Far more common in Rifian parlance, however, is ar-rba', pl. rurbu', literally "fourth" or "quarter", which Coon (op. cit., 1931, p. 91) has equated with "canton", and in doing so, has noted that,

623 116--This market was located in the exact center of the tribal territory of the Aith Waryaghar, at the point of convergence of all three
631 qa'idates (I-Uta, Upper Ghis and Nkur) alluded to above, and all
131 questions of import to the whole tribe were usually settled or de-
443 cided there. Imgharen from all of Aith Waryaghar came to this market
[646] when the full tribal council was convoked.

The Sunday Market at Thisar has ceased to exist since the
[648] Spanish pacification of the Rif; the Spaniards moved it slightly north to Thamasind, a market, also held on Sundays, which is attended only by members of the immediate subsegments in the vicinity, and which is much smaller, in size and status, than its predecessor.

443 117--For more detailed descriptions of women's markets, see Andrés
562 Sánchez Pérez, "Zocos de Mujeres en Beni Uriaguel", Africa, Madrid,
[113] May 1943, pp. 22-23, as well as two works of our own, D. M. Hart, "An Ethnographic Survey of the Rifian Tribe of Aith Waryaghar", Tamuda, vol. 2, no. 1, 1954, pp. 51-86, and "Emilio Blanco Izaga and the Berbers of the Central Rif", Tamuda, vol. 6, no. 2, 1958, pp. 171-237. (Specific references in the two latter cases are from pp. 80-1 and pp. 201-3 respectively).

Some recapitulation, however, is necessary for the purposes
[191] of the present work. Special women's markets, which men are forbidden to attend, are not uniquely Rifian, for they are also reported for the tribe of Ihahan on the Sus coast between Mogador and Agadir.
443 Montagne (op. cit., 1930, pp. 251-2) thinks that because in both the
562 Sus and in the Rif they are more or less confined to the coastal area,
114 they may, through their rigid segregation of the sexes, reflect a greater degree of Islamization in these areas, for they are not to be found anywhere in the Atlas. Sánchez Pérez, who also cites the existence of women's markets in Ihahan, favors a diffusionist theory in accounting for their presence in such widely separated areas as the Rif and the Sus.

This kind of thinking must be relegated to the realm of idle speculation. More important, however, is the rationale which Sánchez Pérez gives for the existence of women's markets. He says that the Aith Waryaghar themselves cannot account for the origin of this phenomenon (which is true); but when he states that they ascribe it to the need for the continuance of commercial interchange during the Republik, when all segments and subsegments of the tribe were perpetually at feud, and when only women, as non-combatants, were respected and came, in effect, to handle normal business transactions during such emergencies, he is, I strongly suspect, putting words in their mouths. His argument falls of its own weight, for why, then, should regular weekly markets (i.e. non-women's markets) continue to function all through siba, as they did? He does not take into consideration the primary raison d'etre of the Rifian market, which Blanco correctly interprets as a "place of peace"; for market day was the one non-feuding day (with Friday, perhaps, a poor second) of the week!

443 The truth of the matter, very probably, is that because the
562 men of the Aith Waryaghar have always zealously guarded their womenfolk and have never let them attend normal markets (although this has broken down somewhat as a result, possibly, of greater security

600 them, and to remove positions which might become complicated through useless centralization or confused through disadvantageous classification.

Today Rifian society lacks its own organs of expression, sheltering its ill humor from the picturesque pages of a partisan and slanderous (Spanish) press, a collector of those disaffected and rancorous individuals of poor mentality. In its turn the Makhzin becomes strengthened through a milieu which is hostile through incomprehension. It neutralizes its delegates (mqaddmin), the manner of their appointment, their mediating authority and their connection with the jma'th. Even should he like to do so, the mqaddim cannot, as in other positions, undertake to defend the Makhzin: it is possible that he does not know how, nor that it occurs to him, nor that he would even dare to do so. What, then, remains of his position? That of a local community guardian or of a poor (bad) or fearful informer, if not, indeed, tendentious for some individuals or for others. This is very little, and the progress made in the rural nuclei is nil: communal property is disappearing, and pastureland and brushwood-land are both getting further away and more reduced, while the mosques are cut into pieces, the (inter-community) paths are erased, the wells are emptied and the jma'th is becoming ruined, ceasing to act in its useful communal functions and endeavoring to become a paid or salaried parasite.

Nonetheless, even as strong as was Rifian Custom, so clear, simple and beneficial that it lasted for ages, it appears almost as if when the official and orderly crust was scratched, it (Custom) was unable to obtain the confidence of the tribes or even to fulfill

671 It eschews pardon,
614 it demands proof and it shows the reality of the
62] social unit, the "fraction" (author's italics--the translator
619 would call it "clan", with translator's italics), the characteristic
631 and fundamental unit of Rifian social organization, in the same way that the jma'th (author's italics) is the elementary unit, the tribe (author's italics) the principal unit and the confederation (author's italics) the superior unit.[49]

443 The life of all peoples demands some commercial interchange and, by the same token, commercial relations as such; and the result of this is that these relations must be regulated. This necessity
621 impels the jma'ths resident in a small area to satisfy it by estab-
623
443 lishing a common market in a fixed and determined place on a fixed and
671 determined day of the week, and guaranteeing access and permanence to those who attend it by means of an agreement among its representatives, whose written accord, respected across time, forms the law of the clan, an example of which is the qanun commented upon here. A law which, in [182] principle, has as its only objective the guarantee of commercial interchange, establishing a truce to its disastrous life, it becomes accustomed little by little to social coexistence, giving consistency to the immediately superior unit, the jma'th, the demarcation of which at least corresponds topographically to an accident of the terrain (the side of a mountain, the course of a river, a meseta, etc.) abridging its pride and feeling of solidarity in seeing its market thus favored, converting it into an oasis of peace, a localistic tie which, overflowing the reduced limits of the jma'th, widens its notions of humanitarianism.

671 Look at how this admirable qanun shows in its first paragraph
443 the market as the temple where the agreement, the law of the people,
614
796

000

[175] 129--Al-Mazimma was the port, in the 8th century A.D., for the City of Nakur. Modern Rifians do not confuse it with al-Husaima which, they say, aside from the present city and provincial capital of that name, covered the whole area from Badis in Bni Bu Frah to Ras Sidi Sh'aib in Thimsaman. It should also be noted that Sidd, in Arabic, means "dam".

[423] [432] 130--A translation of this document is given in Chapter XVII. It should be noted, in any case, that if a foreigner or anyone whose family does not traditionally irrigate in the area comes to buy land (and to build a house, etc.) in the Lower Ghis region, he has no right to irrigation water until he buys an irrigation turn. He must, furthermore, have a document proving that he bought his turn.

[712] [648] [175] [113] 131--The Jami' al-Mujahidin, or "mosque of the fighters of the faith", where the Aith Waryaghar mounted a permanent and perpetual guard against Spanish invasion, from 1673, when Spain occupied the Isle of al-Husaima, until 1926, when 'Abd al-Krim surrendered. See Andrés Sánchez Pérez, "Datos Historicos sobre Ciudades Rifeñas, Selección de Conferencias y Trabajos realizados durante el Curso de Interventores 1951-52, Tetuan 1952, pp. 29-47.

[175] [648] [631] 132--Both these men were of Ajdir, subclan of Aith Ughir Iyizan, clan of Aith Yusif w 'Ari. The Qa'id Sriman r-Khattabi, a lifelong enemy of 'Abd al-Krim who during the Rifian War was pensioned by the Spaniards and in 1926 made qa'id of all Aith Waryaghar by them, died in 1936.

133--This statement needs some qualification. The four names under consideration here, although two of them (Ajdir and Ughir Iyizan) certainly correspond to lineage names, are in effect names of irrigation turns, for, on the other hand, Bu Mqathir and Zawith (the latter refers to the area around the Monday Women's Market, at Azghar, and not, as far as we know, to any particular zawiya) are both place names, and in both these instances, as indicated in the notation of participants in the Zawith turn, it is the lineages who form local groups in the area under consideration who have right to irrigation water, irrespective of their clan affiliations. In the Zawith turn, again, one of the participating ijujga is that of the Andrusen: this lineage, whose name means "Andalusians", has become a member segment of the subclan of Lower Imrabdhen, in the clan of the Imrabdhen; we say "has become" rather than "is", because, as in fact its name shows, it is made up of the descendants of "foreign shurfa" rather than of those of local ones. Another participating jajgu, the Ihaddallahan, is a lineage branch of the Aith Mis'aud u Yusif of Ajdir, of the subclan of the Aith Ughir Iyizan in the clan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari; while the Ushshannen are a branch of the Aith 'Aru 'Aisa, also of Ajdir. We have unfortunately been unable to establish the lineage affiliations of the Fisra and Dharwa nd-Hajj 'Abdinnbi; and, like Blanco's, our own notes on irrigation in the Lower Ghis (made in Imzuren in the autumn of 1953) have nothing to say regarding the lineage participating in the Bu Mqathir turn on the fifth day.

However, one point is very clear: that with the rotation over the first four days between Ajdir and Ughir Iyizan, and the additional fact that at least two lineages of Ajdir participate in the Zawith turn,

by the Spaniards. If anyone fails to turn up to repair a ditch after a storm, the fine he pays goes not to the aquwwam but to his jma'th, who buy sugar and tea with it.

172--"Subclans" may not be strictly accurate here as a translation, but it is better than Blanco's "fractions". Ajdir is, as aforementioned, a community of the subclan of the Aith Ughir Izan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari, while the Imhawren are a subclan, in their own right, of the Aith 'Ari. The Imrabdhen are an entire clan, but in this instance only those subclansmen of the Lower Imrabdhen contiguous to the Imhawren and Ajdir were involved.

173--The references are to the lineage of the Aith 'Aru Hmid, subclan of the Imhawren, clan of the Aith 'Ari.

174--The Sultan of Morocco at this time was Mawlay 'Abd ar-Rahman ibn Hisham (1822-1859).

175--It is impossible for us to infer today even the clans to which the first three men belonged, much less their lineages, because of the antiquity of the qanun (or, in this case, shahada) in question. However, Muhammad al-'Arusi was probably of the Aith 'Arus or a descendant of someone who had escaped from a feud in that mountain subclan, and 'Abdallah b. Ahmad Amhawil must have been of the Imhawren subclan of the Aith 'Ari.

176--Sriman r-Khattabi of Ajdir, whom the Spaniards made the top qa'id of all the Aith Waryaghar in 1926. He held this position until 1934-35, when, at Blanco's instigation, Waryagharland was divided into three qaidates of equal size. In 1936 he became Pasha of Villa Sanjurjo (al-Husaima), a position he held until his death in 1950.

177--Of the clan of the Aith 'Abdallah, but lineage affiliation is unspecified.

178--Both the qadi and the two 'adul can be identified as being of the clan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari.

179--In Moroccan Arabic, rayah or siyada are the usual terms for "hunting"; in Rifian, however, the word is dhingmarth, while hunter is angmar, pl. ingmarn. A very summary description of Rifian hunting techniques, as practiced for the most part in the Igzinnayen, and with rifle, net or trap, is in Coon, op. cit., 1931, pp. 37-38; and a summary of Blanco's own data is also contained in R. P. Esteban Ibanez, "El Derecho Consuetudinario en la Sociedad Bereber", Institut International de Sociologie, XVIIIe Congrès, Nuremberg 1958, Sept. 16-17, 1958 (mimeographed).

180--This is not literally true, for like all Moroccan Muslims, Rifians are extremely fond of mutton (or even goat) tajins, or olive-oil based vegetable stews.

181--The distribution of the meat of a dead (or sacrificed) animal is called r-uzi'ath (Ar. l-wuzi'a), and every member of the jma'th is entitled to his share.

621 623 Each dchar has its own jemas to which all adult men are theoretically eligible. Its political powers are rather negligible at present and jemas meetings are held infrequently. The jemas meets to make decisions on the allotment of the community for the upkeep of the local mosque or to take up a local subscription to buy an animal for ceremonial purposes or to voice community feeling towards proposed projects of the provincial government. Each dchar is administered by a moqaddem who is 621 622 657 appointed by the national government. While the appointment is made by the government it is always of a local notable, prominent, and acceptable at the local level. The moqaddem 622 631 619 may and usually does have administrative responsibility over more than one dchar. Taking again the Ibuqquyen as our example we find that four moqaddems of the fraction of Izmourin are responsible for 9 dchars, that the three of Axgar are in charge of 13 dchars, and the two of Tagidit for 14 dchars.

623 [554] Although theoretically every adult male is supposed to have a voice in the local council, in practice the younger men or the poor do not play a very active role and decisions are for the most part guided by the local notables. In traditional days, 623 178 before pacification, these councils had a great deal of political power and were active in adjudicating quarrels, property settlements, and so on. Since these functions have now been assumed [657] by officials of the Moroccan government, the council's power has been considerably reduced although its decisions still carry a moral authority of some substance.

556 request and frequency of demand, the better-off familes have
576 the social obligation of providing for any itinerant traveler,
594 whether he be teacher, student, or pilgrim. The exchange is, of course, not one-sided. By providing for men engaged in religious pursuits one enhances one's own piety and reputation within the community. The travelers also provide sources of news and gossip and on occasion religious instruction.

556 An analogous obligation which involves persons within the
554 community rather than strangers is that of the protector. In
571 modern times this has meant that certain prominent men in each Berber community have the social duty of acting as intermediary between the people of the community and the external government, or in effect between the fellah and the Caid. Caids, as the most
631 immediate representatives of the Moroccan state at the local
692 level, are given certain judicial powers. They can adjudicate marketplace disturbances such as thievery or fighting. They can have any man in their district brought in by the soldiers assigned to them. They can assess fines and imprison a man for up to five days without a judicial hearing (sentences of longer duration can only be assessed by the secular qadi in Alhucemas or Targuist). If judicial action of this sort is taken against
631 a member of the community his family will go to a prominent local
692 man. By making presents of goods or animals to this man, he is
556 placed in the position of protector and is under traditional
554 obligation to intercede on behalf of the petitioners. This form
571 of mutual support between local lords and the community was much

631 692 556 554 571 more dramatic in the days of blood feuding when the same mechanism was used to acquire allies. The interference of a locally prominent man is generally efficacious since government representatives attempt to minimize local hostility. An open confrontation between a local lord and a state representative generally leads to the dismissal of the latter. In neither of the two locations where I spent extended periods of time did the caid stay in office while I was there. In one of the two fractions the caid changed three times. The balance of political power is weighted towards the locally prominent, for the lords of the old bled-as-siba represent the highest rung of the informal but powerful traditional structure of leadership while the caids and pashas represent the lowest level of the other form of government, the formal bureaucracy.

641 648 556 619 The national government is well aware of the actual dual organization of political power in the country. While every Moroccan may have equal status based on constitutional law, he does not have equal status in terms of customary law. This social fact is exemplified by the ceremonies held in Rabat where dignitaries from all across Morocco are called upon to attend such celebrations as the King's birthday, Aid al-Kebir, or the promulgation of a new law. On such occasions, depending upon the size of the tribe or fractions, one, two, or three men who represent the traditional power structure are royally commanded to be in attendance. Such meetings are ritualized reenactments of the loyalty of the populace as expressed through its local leadership.

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

CONCLUSION

105 631 I shall now draw a résumé of the character of the Rif economy. The first factor which merits our attention is that the Rif was part of the bled-as-siba, the land of insolence, as opposed to the bled as-makhzen. The central feature of the 105 631 latter was that a central political body integrated the economy, 648 extracting taxes, channeling production, and supervising trade. The central government ran the economy which, with its large estates, absentee landowners, and tax-supported upper class, presented a classical example of an Oriental style of economic integration.

105 631 The bled-as-siba presents quite another form of political integration and economic organization.[1] Politically, the Rif consisted of a number of small sub-units, each autonomous from the rest and each relying only on its own power for maintaining its political integrity and economic well-being.

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[1] This holds true for only parts of the bled-as-siba. Other parts of the land outside the makhzen developed complex feudal political organization while at the same time remaining free of the Sultan. Examples from the current century include the Pasha of Marrakesh, el-Glaoui, and Raisuli in the northwest. As Benet noted, "The appearance of an internal proletariat in the Siba is a sure sign that it is developing an oligarchic tyranny of local character and a Makhzen of its own" (1957: 195).

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

105 631 The economic system of the bled-as-siba reflected this preoccupation, each sub-unit incorporating both its economic activity and its social activity in a manner so that the two could rarely be separated.

105 648 [63] [178] The Rif, however, is no longer bled-as-siba. Since 1926 it has been integrated into political systems with centralized authority. Yet most of the elements of the traditional economic system continue to persist. Why? I think that along with geographical isolation a poverty in natural resources has helped to maintain the Rif free from outside interferences. Sultans were hesitant to send a sizable army into the Rif because it was questionable whether the army could live off the land. Spain was interested less for economic reasons than as an effort to recoup some of the colonial glory she had but recently lost in a war with the United States. Once Spain established her protectorate she only selectively exploited the country in such items as minerals and lumber. On the whole this had no effect on the indigenous economic system. Nor has the Rif fared better since independence. "By comparison, the inhabitants of the old Spanish zone, largely Riffian, are poor relations when contrasted with their compatriots to the south. Extremely limited agricultural possibilities and poor communication in rugged terrain combine to produce this situation" (Steward 1964:170). The Moroccan government has found that the incorporation of the north constitutes a drain on national resources, contributing little to the national economy while at the same time extracting

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

The northern zone includes an area of about 20,000 square kilometers, roughly one-tenth of Morocco. The maximum width of the zone, from the Strait of Gibraltar to Wad Lukkus, is about 100 kilometers. The maximum length, from the Atlantic coast to Wad Moulouya, is about 340 kilometers. In 1950 the population of the zone was estimated at one million, including 85,000 Europeans in the Spanish protectorate, and another 150,000 Europeans in the cities of Tangier, Ceuta, and Melilla.

Territorial Divisions

Tribesmen of northern Morocco recognize three main confederations: Rif, Ghmara, and Sanhaja as-Srair (fig. 2). Most tribesmen recognize also a territory known as Jbala, the Arabic word for "mountains" or, in this case, "hills." There is no traditional name for the area west of a line drawn through Arcila and Ksar al-Kebir. In the Rif, tribesmen of the Atlantic coastal area are described as Igharbiyen (westerners). The Spanish referred to this area, approximately the basin of Wad Lukkus, as "Lucus." The easternmost sector of the protectorate, roughly the basin of Wad Kert, was known as Quert. The Moroccan government retained this division until August, 1958, when the northern zone was reorganized into larger territories.[1] In the discussion to follow, reference is made to the traditional divisions, not to territories established in recent decades.

The confederacy of Ghmara consists of nine tribes: Bani Bu Zra, Bani Mansur, Bani Khalid, Bani Silman, Bani Siyyat, Bani Zejal, Bani Rzin, Bani Grir, and Bani Smih. It is proper to use the prefix *bani*, Arabic for "sons of," since only a few villages in Bani Bu Zra and Bani Mansur retain Berber speech. According to tradition, these tribes are descendants of the nine sons of an immigrant schoolmaster named Aghmir.[2] Whether this explanation is historically accurate is unimportant. The significant point is that the Ghmaran tribes have a sense of belonging together through descent from a common, if perhaps hypothetical, ancestor.

The confederacy of Sanhaja as-Srair is formed of ten tribes: Ktama, Aith Seddath, Bani Gmil, Aith Khannus, Taghzut, Aith Bu Nsar, Bani Bu Shibat, Bani Hmid, Aith Bashir, and Zarqat. Here it is proper to use *aith*, Berber for "people of," since the tribes thus designated still speak Berber domestically. On the southern slope of the Rif Mountains, in what used to be French Morocco, are two other Sanhajan confederations, Sanhaja Ghaddu and Sanhaja Musbah, but these groups no longer speak Berber and have little contact with the Sanhajans of the northern zone.

The limits of the Rif are more difficult to trace. Many Moroccans apply this term to the entire eastern half of the zone. Tribesmen living within the eastern area are more restrictive. Bani Bu Frah and Bani Yittuft are usually regarded as Rifian, although they have nearly lost Rifian speech. Mtiwa and Mistasa are disclaimed by both Rifians and Ghmarans; they may be the descendants of immigrants or exiles, for immigrant or exiled Rifians are found near Fez, at several locations in Jbala, and in the Oran department of Algeria. Targist presents a special problem: the cultural affiliation of this tribe has been obscured by the

[1] For further details see *L'Afrique Française*, November–December, 1958; and W. H. Lewis, "Rural Administration in Morocco," *Middle East Jour.*, 14 (1960), 45–60.

[2] J. Caro Baroja, *Estudios Mogrebíes* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1957), pp. 140–143.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

presence of an influential family of *shurfa*, alleged descendants of the Prophet, who encouraged a shift from Berber to Arabic speech. Rifian is spoken in the hamlet of the Aith Azza, but the weekly market of Targist has functioned traditionally as a trading center for the Sanhajan tribes, especially Zarqat. The Aith Mazduwi also appear to be of mixed origin, for both the Sanhajan and Rifian dialects are spoken by this tribe.

Sanhajans and Ghmarans generally regard all tribes to the east of them as Rifian, but among the Aith Bu Yihyi and other tribes of the Kert and Moulouya valleys this appellation is restricted to the tribes of the basin of Wad Nkour. It is useful to think of a zone of transition between the "true Rif"—Aith Wariyaghar, Ibuqquyen, Aith Ammarth, Igzinnayen, Aith Tuzin, Thimsaman—and the eastern frontier of the northern zone. The Ulad Stut are intrusive bedawin, like the Khlut of the Atlantic littoral. The remaining tribes may be described as "eastern Rifians." Two minor confederations are recognized within this group. The first, "Iqar'ayen" in Rifian and "Gal'aya" in Arabic, includes five tribes: Aith Bu Ifrur, Aith Sidar, Imazujen, Aith Bu Gafar, and Aith Shikar. The second, called "Garet" or "Gart" in Arabic, is formed of Ibdharsen and Aith Bu Yihyi. The dialect of the Aith Iznasen is intelligible to most Rifians, but there seems to be general agreement that the Rif, even in a broad sense, does not extend beyond Wad Moulouya.

Land and Livelihood

In the total context of geography, northern Morocco should be described as an isolated and generally inhospitable area. Moving from the Atlantic coast toward the east, the traveler is confronted with an abrupt transition from alluvial plains and terraces to a wild and chaotic zone of steep slopes and narrow ridges. The eastern lowlands are more favorable from a physiographic point of view, but the Rif chain creates a rain shadow, and the tribesmen of the eastern Rif, Garet, and Gal'aya suffer from meager and erratic rainfall. Cut off to the south by the Rif chain and to the north by inhospitable coasts, northern Morocco cannot compare with Greece, Italy, southern France, or Andalusia as a breeding place for advanced civilization. It is a rampart and a place of refuge.

The tribesmen of northern Morocco share an agricultural heritage derived in part from contacts with Phoenicians, Romans, Arabs, and Europeans. Farming methods are primitive, for the mountain tribes learned centuries ago how to grow the maximum amount of food on tiny terraces, and the size of their fields and the steepness of slopes discourage mechanization. Barley and wheat constitute the most important crops. Wherever water is available for irrigation, the cereals, which are dry-farmed, are supplemented by summer crops of maize, legumes, and vegetables. Horticulture provides precious additional food, and during the spring, when cereal stocks are low, raisins, figs, and nuts are staples. In the semiarid lowlands east of the Rif chain, only cereal farming is possible, and famine may be experienced when rains are meager or arrive too late. The great seasonal migration from this area toward the French farms of eastern Algeria resulted from an imbalance between population and food supply.

Variations in crop combinations and diet are partly conditioned by environmental factors, and hence will be considered in greater detail in chapter ii. A

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

611 Descent is patrilineal, and the number of paternal relatives a Moroccan can remember is always greater than the number on the mother's side.[a]

565 184 The important details of social stratification show little variation within the northern zone. Real or alleged descendants of the Prophet constitute the highest class. Among tribesmen, the most respected and important class is composed of gentlemen farmers. At the bottom of the scale are blacksmiths, market weighers and criers, musicians and dancers, and tinkers or other itinerant artisans. The Jews, regardless of their profession, are lowest in the scale.

621 184 Besides these aspects of religion and social organization, there are many features of settlement and livelihood that show little variation within the northern zone. The basic unit of settlement is the hamlet or farmstead. Settlements of more than a few hundred inhabitants are rare. For every farmer who grows cash crops there are at least a hundred others who are concerned only with their own or community needs. In all Morocco, subsistence farming and barter govern rural economy, and trading takes place at weekly markets held in the open air.

241 433 [437] [443] One of the clearest expressions of cultural diversity is the division of northern Morocco into zones of Arabic and Berber speech, a division which coincides with other cultural frontiers. Generally speaking, the eastern half of the area (Rif, Garet, Gal'aya) retains Berber speech, whereas the western half (Jbala, Ghmara) has been Arabized. The historical and cultural factors that have brought about this division will be considered in chapter iii.

195 631 648 A state, by minimum definition, is an extent of inhabited territory presided over by a government capable of asserting its authority. During most of its history, Morocco was hardly a state in this sense of the word. One of the important themes of Moroccan history is the division of the country into lands of government (*bilad al-makhzen*) and lands of dissidence (*bilad as-siba*). The belligerence of the free tribes was based not only on their hatred of taxes[b] and authoritarian order but also on their inability to conceive of any social or political unit larger than the tribe or confederation of tribes. Most of the Rif was part of the land of dissidence.[c] Jbala and Ghmara formed an intermediate zone, neither submissive nor openly rebellious in the face of domination from without. The plains of Wad Lukkus and the Gharb were easier to subdue.

619 628 [648] [571] [616] [712] Dissidence was expressed in intertribal and intratribal conflict as well as in opposition to the central government. In most of the Rif, and especially in Aith Wariyaghar, quarrels over ownership of land, water rights, and personal affronts led to blood feuds of extraordinary savagery. Some feuds did not end until one of the participating families was exterminated. Feuding and the necessity for defense gave rise to a complex system of alliances based in part upon moieties. In the days before the Spanish occupation, each house in Aith Wariyaghar had

[a] In popular writings Berber society is sometimes described as being influenced by matriarchy. This assumption is based upon the fact that Berber women are much more active and unabashed than the Arabized women of the towns; it is based also upon the tradition that the Garmantians were led by a queen or prophetess. E.-F. Gautier, "The Monument of Tin Hanan in the Ahaggar," *Geog. Rev.*, 24 (1934), 489–443. [113]

[b] *Makhzen* comes from the verb *khazana*, "to lock up" or "to hoard." The word is synonymous with "government" and more especially with the treasury department. E. Michaux-Bellaire, "Makhzen," *Encyclopedia of Islam* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1913–1938). [113]

[c] Nevill Barbour, ed., *A Survey of North West Africa (the Maghrib)* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), pp. 380–381. [113]

7: Mikesell* K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

531 171 In addition to a common language, certain other culture traits are shared by most Berbers. The Berber arts still differ from the Islamic arts acclimatized in Barbary. Designs on pottery, rugs, and blankets are almost entirely in geometrical patterns. Nothing could be clearer than the contrast between the lozenges and chevrons of Berber work and the complicated floral and epigraphic designs of 342 Levantine art. The simple houses of the Moroccan highlands probably are local 171 variants of the prevalent Mediterranean types, but the multistoried buildings of rammed-mud blocks in southern Morocco show eastern affinity. Indeed, no traveler who has seen the Moroccan *qsar* and the "skyscrapers" of southern Arabia can 171 fail to be impressed by the similarity of the two.[14] Similarity of this sort suggests diffusion of style and techniques from a common center, possibly eastern Africa, which may also have been the main center of the "Hamitic" languages.

771 789 171 [772] [805] A few nonmaterial traits also can be associated with Berber speakers. We can still discern among them the remains of an agrarian animism. The ceremonies that seek to obtain through rain, considered as the male element, the fecundity of the soil, which represents the female, are doubtless of this category. Wherever Berber is spoken, the important events are reckoned by solar months, not by the Muslim lunar calendar.[15]

631 Until recently the social organization of most Berber-speaking communities differed from the Arab or Muslim order.[16] The Berber districts were characterized by extreme fragmentation into small units, each guided by ideals of independence [596] [614] and self-sufficiency.[17] The cell of each unit was the family. Several families formed clans, with about a hundred members who traced their descent from a common ancestor. In the regions of deep-rooted peasantry, particularly in the mountains, 631 groups of related people were linked by means of assemblies composed of delegates 634 from each family.[18] The function of the assembly was to regulate the tasks and taxes of the community. To ensure the execution of decisions and to facilitate relations with other assemblies, a chief, or elder (*amghar*), was appointed, but he was only the delegate of the assembly and every precaution was taken to prevent aggrandizement of his powers. A prudent rotation arranged for the representatives of the principal families to take office in turn. The territory governed by the

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[212] [713] cians. In modified form, it is still used by the Tuareg. G. Marcy, "L'épigraphie berbère numidique et saharienne," *Annales de l'Institut d'Études Orientales*, 2 (1936), 128–164; F. R. Wulsin, "The Prehistoric Archaeology of North-West Africa," Peabody museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, *Papers*, 19 (1941), 111–114.

[113] [14] Cf. the photograph of Sa'a in Harry Hoogstraal, "Yemen Opens the Door to Progress," *Nat. Geog. Mag.*, 101 (1952), 238, and of Tinerhir in Jean and Franc Shor, "From Sea to Sahara in French Morocco," *ibid.*, 107 (1955), 178–179.

[113] [15] Other examples of pagan survivals in Morocco are given in three works of Edward Westermarck: *Ceremonies and Beliefs Connected with Agriculture, Certain Dates of the Solar Year, and the Weather in Morocco* (Helsinki: Akademiska Bokhandeln, 1913); *Ritual and Belief in Morocco* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1926); and *Pagan Survivals in Mohammedan Civilization* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1933).

[113] [16] The remarks to follow are based upon Robert Montagne's *Les Berbères et le makhzen dans le sud du Maroc: essai sur la transformation politique des berbères sédentaires (groupe Chleuh)* (Paris: Alcan, 1930).

[17] I use the past tense because the French-sponsored *dahir* of May 16, 1930, which called for a division of Morocco into two districts, one under Qur'anic and the other under tribal law, was repealed on September 4, 1956. Under the present system the functions of the assemblies are exercised by officials appointed in Rabat.

[113] [18] With excellent insight, Konrad Wiche, "Marokkanische Stadttypen," in *Festschrift zur Hundertjahrfeier der geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien, 1856–1956* (Vienna, 1957), p. 492, describes the Berber assemblies as *Talschaften* (valley associations).

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 .MX3 Rif MX3

assembly was an economic unit. In the Shluh area of southwestern Morocco most of the independent communities have still or had formerly a collective storehouse, or *agadir* (Berber *tighremt*), administered according to minutely established rules.[112]

Under normal conditions the social hierarchy did not extend beyond the family and the assembly. Larger groups assumed importance only in periods of crisis, as when there was a revolt against the sultan or need of defense against an enemy. The next order, which is still of minor importance, is the tribe, traditionally formed of the members of three to ten assemblies. The members of a tribe also claim descent from a common ancestor. The genealogical connotation is apparent in tribal names, which are usually prefixed by *bani* or *aith*, Arabic and Berber, respectively, for "sons of" and "people of." Each tribe has at least one weekly market and a sanctuary—the tomb of the patron of the tribe—which is the focus of an annual pilgrimage. But the manifestations of tribal unity were and are largely ceremonial, and in the past tribal chiefs were elected only in time of war. Moreover, the tribal unit was divided and weakened by an elaborate system of moieties (*leff*). All the communities making up a tribe were thus paired, and every family or clan had the right to call upon its *leff* brothers in an emergency. At various times in Moroccan history, tribes have been grouped to form confederations, but large organizations of this sort had neither a permanent chief nor an assembly. With the exception of the Rifians, most Moroccans have lost interest in the confederations. "On the whole," as Henri Terrasse remarks, "Morocco has been a conglomeration of little Berber republics keen to maintain their autonomy and, in case of need, to defend vigorously or reconquer in pitiless revolts their independence and their customs."[113]

Wherever Arabic has replaced Berber speech, there also Qur'anic law has replaced the old tribal order. In such areas one can no longer speak of "Berbers," but neither can one speak of "Arabs," in the sense of Arabians or Levantines. The cultural dichotomy now evident in northern Africa is the result of a long process of assimilation. The forces which have brought about Arabization are analogous to those which produced the Hispanization of Latin America. This analogy is reasonable, for the number of Arabians in the Atlas is probably no larger than the number of Spaniards in the Andes.

Punic and Roman Influence

The historic period did not begin at the same time for the whole of Barbary. Along the coast it began with the arrival of the Phoenicians, late in the second or early in the first millennium B.C. It is probable that the Barbary coast was visited by Minoans and Egyptians also, but there is no evidence that they founded colonies. The regions occupied by the Phoenicians became part of the civilized Mediterranean world. Carthage, near the modern city of Tunis, was founded in 814 B.C. by settlers from Tyre. Utica, thirty kilometers to the northwest, and Gades (Cádiz) date from 1101 B.C. Other settlements, a day's voyage apart, were founded on the Algerian coast. On the Rifian coast it appears that colonies were

[112] For detailed accounts of the Moroccan granaries, see Dj. Jacques-Meunié, *Greniers-citadelles au Maroc* (Paris: Larose, 1951); and Robert Montagne, *Un Magasin collectif de l'Anti-Atlas: l'Agadir des Ikounka* (Paris: Larose, 1930).

[113] Henri Terrasse, *Histoire du Maroc* (Casablanca: Editions Atlantides, 1949), I, 33.

/175 cont./

000 a canton of the east and a canton of the west. During the last century their struggle was carried on without respite, with the backing of the neighboring tribes. When ʿAbd el Kerim, master of the Rif and of the Jbel, decided in 1925 to make Targist the redoubt of his defense, the memory of the internal divisions was still so alive that he had to name a "pasha" to the command of each of the hostile cantons.

631 634 619 XV. The khoms in the anarchic Rif. -- Perhaps, however, in this part of the Rif it is difficult to find out by means of what institution the canton preserves its personality and its own life; the underlying cause of this state of division of the country into small units of equal importance seems less apparent and more mysterious here than anywhere else. In fact, we no longer find councils of notables made up in so precise a way as in the western Jbel and the Moroccan South. In the high valleys that descend from the Tidighin, it is all the warriors under arms who come to be present at the deliberations of the village, of the "khoms," or of the tribe. The assembly then takes the name of "agrao" (1).

1. Berbère /Berber/ "agrao," plur. "igraoun," noun derived from the verb "grou," to meet (Biarnay, Étude sur les dialectes berbères du Rif /Study of the Berber Dialects of the Rif/, p. 70). The "agrao" corresponds to the "ajmoʿa" of the Ida Ou Tanan, to the "jemaʿa" of Kabylie /Kabylia/.

631 634 619 792 578 Discord and tumult would undoubtedly break out in it very quickly, if the marabouts of the family of the Khemalcha did not practice their arbitration between the hostile parties. Thanks to their pacifying role, these religious leaders colonized the whole country to their advantage and threw a sort of network of zaouïas over the mountains; they are, moreover, clever in the art of stirring up intrigues in order immediately to be able, thanks to their baraka, to stop the conflicts.

/175 cont./

631 In the heart of the Rif, among the Beni Ouriaghel, the Beni
619 Touzin, and part of the Boqqoya, the organization is still
634 looser (2).

2. The tribe of the Beni Ouriaghel, divided into five "khoms," presents a rather complicated social structure, which results both from the state of permanent war in which the families usually lived and the infertility of the soil, which disperses the inhabitants. Each "khoms" possesses a principal territory in the mountains and enclaves in the plain or inversely. Moreover, the marabouts form a supplementary "khoms" scattered throughout the country. /This footnote is continued on the next page in the original source./

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In spite of this confusion and despite the habitual hostility of the family groups within the "khoms" and the "mouda^{c}," the boundaries of each fraction remain perfectly well known and it frequently happens that the internal quarrels subside in order to permit each khoms to enter into a struggle against a neighbor.

In all the Rif, only the Beni Ouriaghel have "khoms" whose territory is made up of separated parcels. Everywhere else, among the tribes of the Mtiwa, Beni Bou Frah, Beni Itteft, Boqqoya, Temsaman, the division into "khoms," very evident, cuts the country up into small units visibly equal in strength and area, whatever may be the geographic conditions of life.

792 /176/ The marabouts become incapable of opposing the develop-
578 ment of anarchy; armed themselves, divided among themselves, like the common people, by private wars, they no longer have the necessary authority to make peace prevail in the assemblies.

/176 cont./

631 The "igraoun" become for all the family groups the occasion to
634 measure their strength, and it very often happens, when the tribe
619 is left to itself, that all government disappears to make way for domination by the most bellicose.

Nevertheless, even in these unfavorable circumstances, the feeling of the unity of the territory exists, and, despite private wars, the assembly of the clans that forms the council of the "khoms" still keeps, by a prodigy of collective memory, the precise notion of the territorial limits. One sees it reappear intact when the common interests are threatened.

631 There exist in the north of Morocco, as in the south, above
619 the tribes, larger groups that merit the name of confederations: they are, on the one hand, the Ghomara, made up of nine tribes, between the Ouringa, Chichaouen, and Tigissas, and, on the other hand, the Senhaja of Srair around the Tidighin, who bring together ten. Those are the remains -- the witnesses, one might say -- of two ethnic masses -- Ghomara and Senhaja -- whose struggles have filled almost all the history of the country. We shall soon see how in our time, when the war between the two races is subsiding, there is appearing among the tribes detached from one or the other of the two confederations the idea of league or of political party, which is being substituted for the old belief in a common origin. It is nontheless interesting to observe here that these two confederations, which have best preserved the historic tradition of the two great enemy races of the Senhaja and Ghomara, are only, however, almost inorganic masses of tribes, which have only fragile and poorly defined bonds between them (1).

1. The Ghomara tribes are united above all by their historical traditions. They have, however, kept a meeting center, Aïn Hajer, and a hierarchical order (Beni Bouzra, Beni /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ Gmil, Beni Khaled, Beni Selman, Beni Ziyat, Beni Zedjel, Beni Bzin, Beni Grir, Mtiwa).

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/Footnote 1 continued./ The tribes forming the confederation of the Senhaja of Srair have not, to our knowledge at least, any common institution. These two groups have partially submitted to the influence of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and sometimes received leaders who commanded nominally at least the totality of the tribes.

It seems that here again the confederations exist /177/ like empty cadres, in which the tribes and khoms live as they like and conclude alliances in complete independence, as if in the relative calm of our time, which succeeds the furious wars of the past, the weakest units were being constituted little by little and becoming conscious of their particular interests and their needs.

000 XVI. The Kabyle "taddert" and "ᶜarch." -- One of the most singular characteristics of the Kabylie /Kabylia/ of the Djurjura /Djurdjura/ is the existence of a population whose density is often greater than that of the French territory. Most often one does not find little hamlets of 20 to 30 hearths as in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ of the Masmouda, but rather large villages of 100 to 150 houses, which have maintained a surprising internal activity up to our day. Republican institutions are more developed there than in the South of Morocco, and the customary law has resisted, after 80 years of conquest, the political and economic transformation of the country (1).

1) Milliot, "Les nouveaux qanoun kabyles /The New Kabyle Qanoun [kanoun, see p. 492]/," Hespéris, 1926, 4th quarter.

In former times the villages were grouped, three or four in number, to form a tribe, "ᶜarch." The "ᶜarch" entered into an arrangement to constitute confederations to which the name of "qbila" was given.

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121 XI. The Riffian anarchy. -- We have spoken of the state of
631 political dissolution in which the tribes of the western Rif live, in particular the ones whose territory borders the sea between the Ouringa wadi and the Ighzer Moqorn, to the point that the tribal fractions themselves appear to be no more than a dust of rival and hostile families; thus one will not expect to find in the mountains that border the Mediterranean an organization comparable to that of the South of Morocco. In this region, where
121 the houses are scattered, established on the summit of each hill,
361 and form as many separate little fortresses, the customary units,
621 such as the hamlet, the "mouda^{c}," even the khoms, have limits
632 difficult to discern. The "mouda^{c}" is still extant, thanks to the
[619] existence of a Friday mosque common to a large number of households, and in trying to establish the list of the households that co-operate in the maintenance of the taleb, one succeeds in finding again in the general tangle of families this small elementary group that exists in the most anarchical regions. At times, when the houses approach one another in order to form a sort of village spread out over a /239/ hilltop of two or three kilometers, amidst gardens and Barbary fig trees, the social bond
621 grows a little tighter again. The familial group to which we
613 have given the name of "ikhs" in the Sous is designated here by "tarfiq" (1);

1. Perhaps from the Arabic "refaqa," group of persons, unless it is a deformation of "ferqa," division.

621 It seems that it might be permissible to give
613 the name of "clan" to the "tarfiq" of the Beni
614 Ouriaghel. This is a familial group more nu-
114 merous and more lasting than the "ikhs" of the Haut-Atlas and at the same time a sort of political unit. Doutté gives, wrongly according
[171] to us, the name of "clan" to the ensemble of families that constitute a jema^{c}a in the North

S
*631 /293/ Finally, the rights of suzerainty that the sedentary or
423 nomadic tribes acquired over the qsars /fortified places/ harassed
571 by plunderers come to create other obligations and causes of
578 conflict. These circumstances are favorable for the establish-
ment of a strong power dominating the anarchic dust of the
S families. Their study goes beyond the limits of our work, but
[121] their existence suffices to explain the difference that the organi-
zation and political evolution of the Berbère /Berber/ tribes near
the Sahara and those of the sedentary ones of the Atlas or Anti-
Atlas may present.

R XII. The amghars of the Rif. -- At first sight, one might
634 expect to find in the mountainous regions of the north of Mo-
*631 rocco, among the Jbala and in the Rif, a development of per-
171 sonal power comparable to the one that we have observed in the
Sous. In reality, here, as there, the action that the Makhzen
/makhzan/ carried out on the tribes in the nineteenth century
remained distant and did not venture to come to break up the
efforts of the minor chiefs in their beginnings. Pashas established
in the towns at Fès /Fez/, Wezzan, Larache, Taza governed at a
great distance through the agency of caliphates named in the
mountains, and since the authority of the latter was weak, the
R Berbère /Berber/ or Arab populations lived in a situation very
[616] close to independence. Moreover, the village and canton re-
publican institutions, the size of the small autonomous states,
the division into leffs created, it seems, circumstances favorable
for the appearance of personal power, analogous to the ones that
we found in the Atlas of the Masmouda.

R Nevertheless, contrary influences were to make themselves
634 felt to limit narrowly the chiefs' authority. We have mentioned
631 the importance of the private wars in the western Rif that some-
614 times led to the disappearance of entire villages in a few years.
578 The repetition of these struggles for long centuries ended in the
consolidation of veritable clans, patriarchal and agnatic families
augmented by clients and allies, whose persistence becomes
necessary to the very life of the individual. The khoms is thus
made up of a certain number of clans, "tarfiqt," all independent
of one another, ready to separate at the least pretext. Old

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634 amghars covered with wounds command each "tarfiqt." Incapa-
631 ble of being on good terms with one another, the most that they
614 can do is to succeed in taking the pledge, in the name of their
578 brothers, to /294/ abstain from killing and stealing for a few weeks. Again, the "agrao" -- the meeting of all the armed warriors -- which accompanies the conferences of the amghars, is often terminated by a general melee. No chief can emerge from this anarchy.

792 In a great part of the Jbel, more to the West, where these
578 clan quarrels are less frequent, so that the inhabitants can live side by side and form veritable villages, religious leaders appear, shorfa /shurfa/ or marabouts, often of dubious origin. They live
[621] apart from the common people in separate hamlets; a little less
[465] ignorant than the masses that they dominate, less poor because
[794] they receive the tithe that these tribes willingly give them, they form a little natural aristocracy whose trade is to arbitrate con-
[648] flicts. At the service of the Makhzen /makhzan/ when the Sultan is powerful, they play the role of intermediaries between these populations and the caliphates and the pashas. But these marabouts are particularly well off in times of "siba"; then they know how to prevent private wars from breaking out and have the art of letting quarrels begin so as to be able to settle them. One sees them, during the periods when they act freely, found innumerable branches in the valleys that surround the large zaouia /zawia, zawiyah/ built near the tomb of their ancestor, and throwing over all the valleys of the high mountains a veritable network in which
792 the tribes are enclosed. Such in our day is the powerful organization of the Khemalcha marabouts, who exploit the confederation of the Senhaja of Srair; more to the West, it is the Oulad el Beqqal, less centralized and whose authority has clearly fallen, the marabouts affiliated with the brotherhoods of the Derqawa among the Beni Zerwal, the shorfas /shurfas/ of Wezzan with their zaouias of Snada, among the Beni Itteft, of Ichouken among the Ghomara; finally, on the holy mountain of the Jbel ʿAlam, the innumerable Idrisiyn shorfas, the most famous of whom in recent years was Moulay Ahmed Er Raisouli.

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000 day attached /402/ to their republican traditions and opposed by incessant wars. At least we may say that their appearance, almost unaccountable at first sight if one thinks of the loyalty maintained by the Kabyles to their egalitarian constitutions, is illuminated when one grants that the country in which they grew was divided into territorial leffs several centuries ago and was covered by a chessboard of small tribes opposed in two alliances, analogous to that of the western Atlas in our time. From then on, one can admit the same causes engendering the same effects, that amghars of cantons and tribes of Kabylie /Kabylia/ succeeded in rising, by means of leff ties, by forming principalities similar to the ones of the great kaids of the country of the Masmouda.

175 631 The most recent example that we can cite is also the one conforming most to our previous conclusions. Under our eyes, the last chief of Berbère /Berber/ independence, Mohammed ben ʿAbd el Kerim /Abd-el-Krim/, has, as a matter of fact, just tried to create a state in the anarchic Rif, while obeying, doubtless without knowing it, principles that his predecessors must have followed in other regions of the Maghreb.

[648] The Riffian chief appears to us, in fact, from the first battles that precede the Spanish rout of 1921, as a mere notable of the Beni Ouriaghel; his Anoual victory makes of him only a "war leader," whose authority remains limited and precarious. At that moment there was nothing that could make his surprising career foreseen. But then he becomes aware of his mission. We see him first of all silencing the very keen rivalry of the soffs in his tribe; [578] after stopping the private wars among the Beni Ouriaghel, his [619] brothers, he forms a Riffian Makhzen, to which the riparian tribes of the bay of Alhucemas, Boqqoya, Beni Ouriaghel, Temsaman, Beni Touzin contribute their best elements, as the Masmouda of the Nefis formerly grouped themselves around Ibn Toumert, Mahdi of the Almohades. In the manner of the great chiefs of the Atlas, he then chooses his harka leaders and his caliphates from his tribe of origin; he makes warriors from his village of Ajdir his counselors and confidential men. Next, having thus ensured the fortune of his clan, of his village, of his tribe, and

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631 of the tribes of the vicinity. ᶜAbd el Kerim can easily tame the
669 revolts of the Rif fomented by the minor amghars of the Ghomara,
648 /403/ jealous of the development of his power; soon he completes his successes by the conquest of the Jbel and makes his rival Raisouli perish in prison.

175 Four years sufficed to make of the son of the cadi of Ajdir the
631 independent Sultan of the north of Morocco, who keeps the
554 armies of Spain at bay; carried away by his ambition, by the en-
[648] thusiasm and cupidity of his entourage, ᶜAbd el Kerim then dreams for an instant of conquering the towns of the Maghreb and becoming master of all the Mussulmans of Morocco, whose eyes turn toward him with growing admiration. Indeed, each day that passes increases his prestige; he becomes, in the eyes of western Islam, a new Moustapha /Mustafa/ Kemal; his name is known from the Indies to America, and people follow his victories and projects with a passionate interest; the large countries of Europe are stirred up by the importance that he is acquiring and, according to their interests, secretly desire his success or hope for his ruin.

175 A few weeks of well-directed military efforts moreover suffice
631 to get rid of the "Riffian State." But the conditions under which
182 this Berbère /Berber/ kingdom, so rapidly built up and at the same
648 time so fragile, suddenly collapses enable us to see its internal structure clearly.

During the first phase of the war, the struggle between the Rif, France, and Spain was carried on to the boundary of the tribes conquered and governed by the Beni Ouriaghel; so the efforts of two large modern armies remained in vain because the members of the Riffian Makhzen /makhzan/ always succeeded in constraining all the populations of the mountains of the north of Morocco to continue the holy war, the "jihad," without sparing their forces; but when the territory of the Beni Ouriaghel itself is threatened, the warriors of ᶜAbd el Kerim's tribe all abandon at the same time their external commands in the tribes of the Jbala and the Wergha in order to come to defend their own homes; the grip exerted by the tribal brothers of the "Sultan of the Rif" on all the small

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175 /403 cont./
631 mountain communities relaxes for an instant; the circumstances
182 that then lead the French column of Colonel Corap at Targist to the
648 heart of the enemy country in a single jump cause the complete ruin of the political edifice built up with so much energy by the chief of the Beni Ouriaghel; the organized state whose plan he had outlined with so much boldness /404/ was succeeded in two days by an inert mass of tribes without strength.

Finally, the very circumstances of the moving capitulation of ᶜAbd el Kerim abandoned by his subjects project a bright light on the nature of the little state that he succeeded in creating in four years of effort.

While the Beni Ouriaghel succumb or give way by the number, in defending their villages, the companions of the Riffian chief, who are the inhabitants of Ajdir, from whom he procured his ministers, flee with their wives into a mountain village; ᶜAbd el Kerim himself, having taken refuge at Snada with a marabout, overwhelmed by his defeat, understands the futility of any resistance, and when he agrees to surrender by placing himself under France's protection, the last wish that he formulates illustrates better than a long study the humble origin of the movement: "We are," he says to our officers sent to lead him to submit, "simple agriculturalists. Our desire is to be authorized to live together from our work on a piece of land of the Makhzen." If it had been possible in other, less troubled times to grant the wish of the conquered one, the "Sultan of the Rif" would have been seen with all his Makhzen -- the sons of the Aït Arbaᶜin of Ajdir -- leading in some distant country, with resignation and without too much surprise, the obscure existence of a Berbère /Berber/ hamlet of plowmen.

S
121 IV. Fragility of the power of the temporal leaders. -- From
171 the tenth century to our day, the great political laws of the life of
*631 the Maghreb have therefore not changed. Whether it is a matter
554 of the Empire of the Fatimides /Fatimids/ or of the ephemeral
182 kingdom of ᶜAbd el Kerim, of the chiefs of the Atlas of the fourteenth century or of those of our time, the ambitious men who